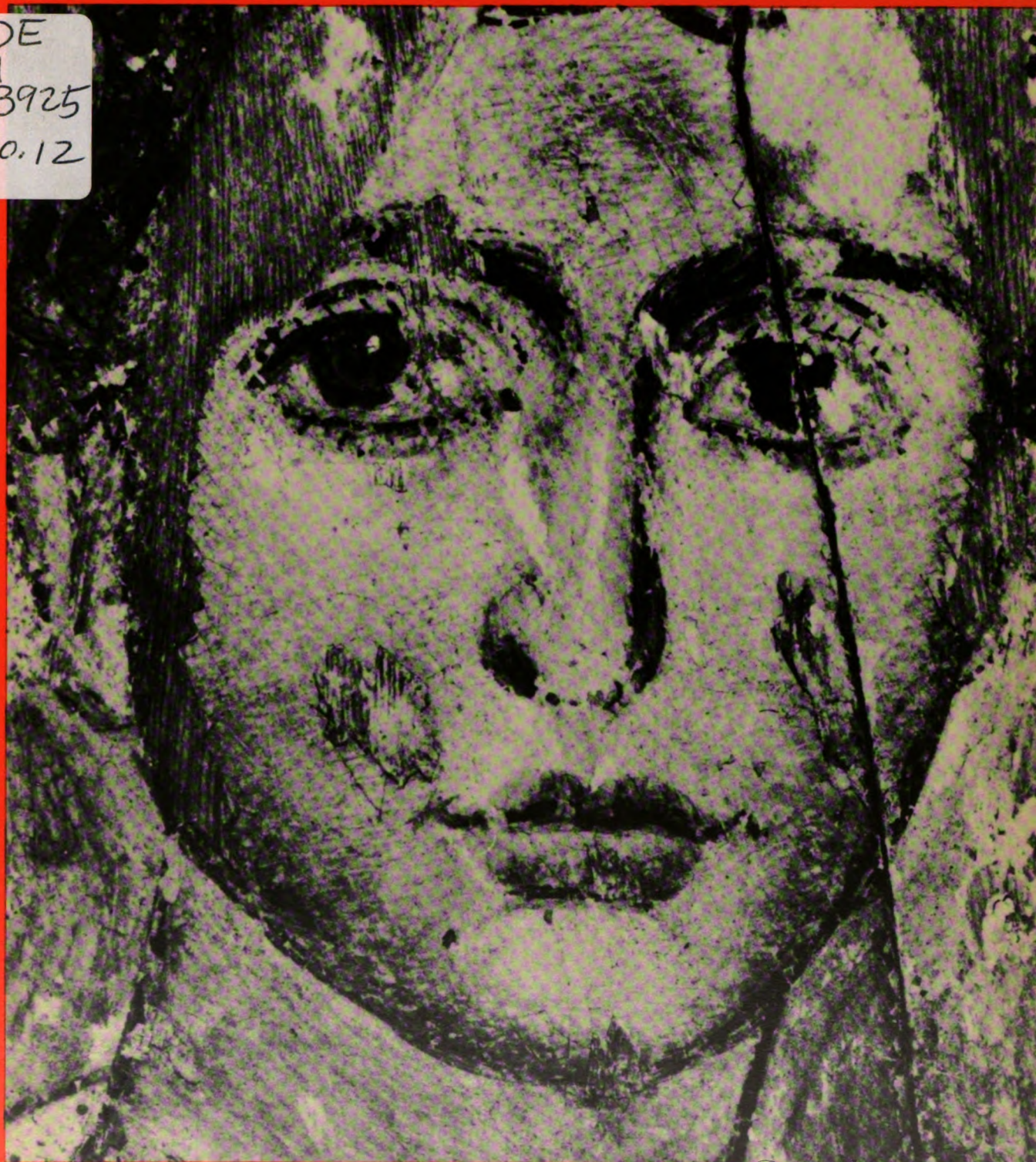


THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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A Votive Inscription from the Reign of Iddin-Dagān

Alfred Haldar

A fragment of a sculpture in the possession of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm (MM 1974:26) will be the object of the present article. It was part of the collections of the late King Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden, and in accordance with the King's will it was delivered to the Museum. Nothing is known of its provenance, but as will appear from its inscription, it was made in Isin, as it was presented to the city goddess by Iddin-Dagān, the third king of the first Isin dynasty (1975–1954 B. C.).

Unfortunately, only a small section of the upper part of the body is preserved, except the head, and the piece has been split a little to the right of the middle of the neck and the bust, so that only the right shoulder has been left (see Fig. 1–2). The height of the piece is about 16 cm. (black stone). The inscription has been engraved on the back, and because a little more than half of the back has been split off, one may assume that about half of the two columns of the inscription is preserved. To the right of the first complete line of Col. I, there was at least one additional line (hardly more), as appears from the fact that its last sign (*-na*) has been preserved.

The lines preserved run, as follows:

Col. I	
[^d nin-in-si-] na	To Nin-Insina,
nin-a-ni-ir	his lady,
^d i-din-da-gan	Iddin-Dagān,
lugal-kala-ga	the strong king,
5 lugal i-si-in ^{kl} -na	the king of Isin,
lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ke,	the king of Sumer and
	Akkad,
nam-ti-la-ni-šè	for his life
a mu-na-ru	presented it to her.
lú á-nì-ḫul-[dím-ma	Whoever an evil [act

10 ib-ši-ág-gá-a	commits,
mu-sar-ra-ba	this inscription
šu bi-<ib-ūr-a>	erases,
mu-ni bí-<ib-sar-ra-a>]	(and) writes his name
	on it],

Col. II

^d nin-in-si-na	Nin-Insina,
nin-mu	my lady,
^d da-mu	Damu,
lugal-mu	my king,
5 nam ḫa-ba-an-da-ku ₃ -ru-ne	may curse him.

Line 1. As was remarked above, hardly more than one line has preceded the first complete line of Col. I. The final sign of that broken line (*-na*) indicates that the name of the city goddess of Isin (^dnin-in-si-na) stood there, which is required by the context. The name of the goddess may also be written ^dnin-i-si-na, the lady of Isin. Line 9. The final signs of Col. I, line 1, and Col. II, line 1 (*-na*), are written below the lines. Analogously, the signs *-dím-ma* must have been written below *nì-ḫul*.¹

Lines 9 ff. Only four signs of the part of the curse formula written in Col. I are preserved. It may have run somewhat in the way suggested by the supplied lines, or may be slightly differently. I have tried to make a compromise between the formulas occurring in UM L-29-578, written during the reign of Enlil-bāni (see Darlene Loding, AFO 24, pp. 47 ff.), as compared to UET I, No. 293–294 (cf. Ilmari Kärki, *Die sumerischen Königsinschriften der frühaltbabylonischen Zeit*, 1968, pp. 2f.). Col. II is completely preserved, and in view of the dimensions of the inscription, it is improbable that Col. I originally contained more lines.



1. MM 1974:26. Front side.

In the text UM L-29-578, referred to above, Iddin-Dagān has only the titles *lugal*, "the king" (line 3) and *lugal kala-ga*, "the strong king" (line 27). UM L-29-578 is an exercise text, which was written in the reign of Enlil-bāni, and it seems to contain copies of two Iddin-Dagān inscriptions. The first of these inscriptions tells us that Iddin-Dagān made two copper statues for Ninlil but he did not bring them to Nippur. Then we read that there was a period of 117 years from Iddin-Dagān to Enlil-bāni, and then the two copper statues were still standing in Isin. Upon the

command of Ninlil, Enlil-bāni brought them to Nippur. Accordingly, only lines 1-4 give the impression of having been copied from an earlier inscription. Lines 26-36 refer to another occasion, when Iddin-Dagān only made one copper statue, on the command of Ninlil, and that time he brought the statue before the goddess, because of which Darlene Loding concludes that Iddin-Dagān had some relations with Nippur.

According to one of his year names, Išbi-Erra expelled the Elamites from Ur, and after that, this city was part of the kingdom of Isin.² A copy of a votive inscription from the reign of Šū-ilīšu has been found at Ur.³ In this inscription, Šū-ilīšu only has the title, *nita kala-ga lugal ūri* ^{ki}-*ma*, "the strong man, king of Ur". From the reign of Iddin-Dagān, only few inscriptions are known.⁴ This does not mean with certainty, that only little was written in his reign. On the contrary, in a hymn to this king, we find a passage on his wisdom, which Enki gave him (lines 14-16).⁵ We read in lines 64-66 as follows, "Your surpassing wisdom, which the tablets of Nisaba have given you, may never find an end to the clay in the 'House of Tablets',⁶ may in this 'House of Tablets', like a sanctuary, which creates everything, never cease!"

One seal and two late copies of an Iddin-Dagān inscription have been found at Ur.⁷ On the seal the king is only called *nita kala-ga*, "the strong man", and it has been presented to him by his scribe (*dub-sar*), whose name is broken.

In the Iddin-Dagān inscription found at Ur, more titles are added to the king's name. In lines 12-13, he is called the one, "to whom Enki has given wisdom". Iddin-Dagān is the subject of the clause comprising Col. II. lines 1-23, and there he has the following titles, *lugal kala-ga lugal ūri* ^{ki}-*ma lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri ki-āga* *nanna ū* *nin-gala*, "the strong king, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, the beloved of Nanna and Nin-gal".⁸ In his date formulae, Iddin-Dagān is only called "the king" (cf. the tablet UM L-29-578, above p. 4). Accordingly, besides the hymn to Iddin-Dagān,⁹ our fragment seems to be the only evidence for the title *lugal i-si-in* ^{ki}-*na* being added to Iddin-Dagān's name, which may be considered remarkable, (cf. W. von Soden, *Orientalia* N. S. 45, 1976, pp. 106 f.).

A brief note on Iddin-Dagān's relations with other Sumerian cities should perhaps be added. The city of Ur was part of the kingdom of Isin from the time of



2. MM 1974:26. Back side.

Išbi-Erra. Dēr was probably a province, which was governed by Nidnuša in his capacity of governor. Anum-muttabbil (Illum-muttabbil), his successor, who noted considerable military advance against Anšan, Elam, Simaški, and Baraḫši, only called himself governor. As Šū-ilišu only had the title "king of Ur" but Iddin-Dagān was also called "king of Sumer and

Akkad", there was evidently a difference between the two kings with regard to their political and military position.¹⁰ In any case, Iddin-Dagān made his son, Išme-Dagān, governor of Dēr and in this way put an end to the independence of that city.¹¹

We quoted Darlene Lodging's conclusion as to Iddin-Dagān's relations with Nippur above: in the inscrip-

tion UM L-29-578, two separate occasions are referred to, for in the first part of the text we are told that Iddin-Dagān made two copper statues and that he did not bring them to Nippur, as they were in Isin at Enlil-bāni's time. In the second case, one copper statue was made, and it was brought to Nippur. A hymn to Nin-Insina deals with a procession carrying the goddess in a chariot to the Euphrates river and then on a ship to Nippur. The main purpose was the decision of fates by Enlil. Afterwards, the goddess was brought back to her sanctuary in Isin, where a festival was celebrated.¹²

In the Isin period, the divine character of the king was maintained in continuation of the tradition from the Ur III dynasty. Thus Išbi-Erra and all the follow-

ing members of the dynasty were called *dingir*, "god"; on a seal Išbi-Erra is called "god of his land". Šū-ilišu is said to be Iddin-Dagān's father,¹³ but the latter is also said to be Dagān's physical son.¹⁴ A hymn to Inanna-Dilibad/Ninsi'anna and Iddin-Dagān, *inter alia*, describes the king playing the rôle of Dumu-zi/Tammuz (here, as in other texts, called Ama-ušum-gal-anna) celebrating the *hieros gamos* with the goddess. The name of Ama-ušum-gal-anna = Dumu-zi carries us back to the early dynasty of Uruk, where, according to the king list, Dumu-zi was the fourth king, and in the list of gods from Fara, Dumu-zi appears under the name Ama-ušum-gal-anna.¹⁵ The hymn quoted indicates the identity of the city goddess of Isin with Inanna, the great Queen of Heaven.¹⁶

Abbreviations: AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung; BIN = Babylonian Inscriptions of James B. Nies; CRRAI = Rencontre assyriologique internationale, Compte rendu; JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies; RA = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale; UET = Ur Excavation Texts.

¹ In analogy with the position of the same signs in the inscription of Šū-ilišu, UET 1, No. 100, Col. II, line 3.

² See BIN 9 (1954), p. 14, No. 20b; JCS 19 (1965), p. 49 § 12 a) and b) – these two variants are considered to refer to the same event, *ibid.*, p. 49, n. 19, with references.

³ UET 1, No. 100; see Kärki, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 f.; on the other very few inscriptions from the reign of Šū-ilišu, see D. D. Edzard, *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens* (1957), pp. 70 f.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 74–76.

⁵ See W. H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit* (1965), p. 212; A. Falkenstein, in: A. Falkenstein – W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (1953), pp. 120–123, 371. Both these works give references to publications of the text.

⁶ *é-dub-ba* has the literal meaning "House of Tablets", and it is the usual signification of the early schools.

⁷ UET 1, No. 229 (the seal); No. 293 = No. 294; see Kärki, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 f.; for a French translation of the inscription, see E. Sollberger – J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions Royales sume-*

riennes et akkadiennes (1971), pp. 173 f. – For a study of the language of the texts of the early part of the Old Babylonian period, see Ilmari Kärki, *Die Sprache der sumerischen Königsinschriften der frühaltbabylonischen Zeit* (1967); cf. the review by J. Krecher, *Die Welt des Ostens* 5, 1969–70, pp. 127 ff. For a bibliography to these inscriptions, see W. W. Hallo, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 18 (1961), pp. 4–14.

⁸ The curse formula occurring in that inscription is also of greater extent than in UM L-29-578.

⁹ Römer, *op. cit.*, p. 211, line 75; for date formulae of the Isin dynasty, see RA 33 (1936), pp. 11–26: two of Iddin-Dagān (p. 24, No. 12 and No. 13, both broken) and one variant (p. 26, No. 49); JCS 19 (1965), pp. 45–55: pp. 54 f. (a new interpretation of formula No. 12; with references); *ibid.*, p. 56; JCS 24 (1971), pp. 17–19 (with references).

¹⁰ Römer, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, lines 71 f.; cf. p. 214, 232.

¹¹ Cf. Edzard, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 f.

¹² Falkenstein, *op. cit.*, No. 8; cf. pp. 363 f.: this hymn is preserved on a Middle Assyrian copy of an Old Babylonian original. This passage may to some extent support D. Loding's conclusion.

¹³ Römer, *op. cit.*, p. 211, lines 71 f.; cf. p. 214.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 210, lines 18 f.; cf. p. 213.

¹⁵ CRRAI 2 (1951), p. 25.

¹⁶ Römer, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 f.

Two Examples of Egyptian Blue-painted Pottery in the Medelhavsmuseet

Colin Hope

The Egyptian collection of the Medelhavsmuseet contains amongst its collection of Egyptian blue-painted pottery, which is mostly sherds some of which are from Amarna, two well preserved and nearly intact vessels. These vessels are the subject of this short article;¹ they are MM 18600 and MM 11119.

MM 18600

A funnel-necked storage jar with a narrow, restricted neck, an ovoid body, and a pointed base; the neck flares out concavely and terminates in an angular lipped rim. The body contour is pronounced, and is fairly regular, save for the lower part of the body which exhibits horizontal facets. It is restored from several pieces, and there are some repaintings made during restoration. It is made from a red/brown fired clay of Nilotic origin.

Dimensions: Height = 38.5 cms. Rim diameter = 13.3 cms. Max. width of body = 14.5 cms. Width of neck at its most restricted = 5.8 cms.

Decoration: The vessel has a cream slip² on the exterior which terminates inside the rim; the slip occasionally takes on a pinkish hue. The designs are both floral and linear, and are painted in blue, red and dark brown.

The neck is painted with large blue petals, outlined in dark brown, which taper to the tip, and are separated by red, elongated drop shapes probably imitating stamens. The decoration and the shape of the neck combine to simulate an open blue lotus flower. This motif commences and terminates at a band consisting of two blue and one red line edged in dark brown. Around the upper part of the body are three registers of floral motifs. The first one is a band of overlapping blue petals, outlined in dark brown, and is divided into three sections by two red lines. The lower edge is indicated by an irregular undulating brown line. The second

register shows a band of blue petals tapering to the bottom, outlined in dark brown, and separated by red stamens. The register is bounded by the same combinations of red, blue and dark brown as was used on the neck. The third register comprises a series of inverted flowers, probably lotuses, which touch at their edges, between the same combination of coloured lines.

Provenance: Unknown, probably originally part of the Gayer-Anderson Collection³.

Bibliography: Exhibited in the 1961 exhibition at the National Museum, Stockholm entitled "5000 år egyptisk konst"; catalogue number 136.

MM 11119

A small jar with a wide mouth, which is slightly flared, a piriform body, and a round base. The rim is slightly tapered. The body contour is mild and regular. The vessel is almost complete, save for a few chips out of the rim; it is made from a red/brown clay of Nilotic origin.

Dimensions: Height = 23.4 cms. Rim diameter = 10.7 cms. Max. width of body = 12.4 cms.

Decoration: The exterior is coated with a cream slip² which terminates on the inside of the rim. The decoration is in blue, red and dark brown, and consists essentially of bands of blue of varying widths.

One wide band of blue covers the upper part of the vessel. Below the rim there is a brown line, and a second forms the top of a register of overlapping petals formed from part of the original band by superimposed brown outlines. This band of petals is horizontally divided by a red line; it ends at an undulating line and a horizontal straight line, both in brown.

There are then four other blue bands. The first one is bounded with brown lines, and the second, which is converted into a band of overlapping petals by brown outlines, is topped with a brown line. These two are



connected by a row of irregular red shapes, and the outlines of the petals of the second band touch the brown line which is at the top of the third blue band. The third band is edged at the bottom with a red line; the fourth band is simply edged in brown.

Provenance: Thought to be from the Fayum (possibly Gurob?) and was bought from the Gayer-Anderson collection in 1934.³

Bibliography: Exhibited in the 1961 exhibition at the National Museum, Stockholm entitled "5000 år egyptisk konst"; catalogue number 135.

Comments

The pigments and their application:

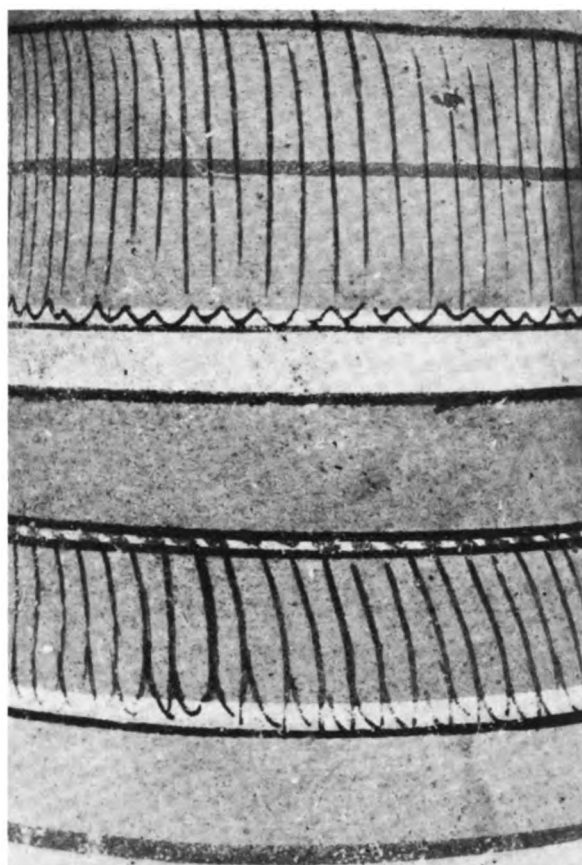
Although the pigments have not been analysed they would appear to be the same as those generally used on this type of pottery. The nature of the blue pigment has recently become the subject of much research. Formerly assumed to be "Egyptian blue frit" (Lucas, 1962:384), analysis by Riederer (1974:104-6) and by Noll and Hangst (1975:209-214) has proved that Cobalt blue was also used as a colouring agent. On all of the samples analysed the blue was derived from Cobalt, and Riederer suggests that the use of Cobalt blue was restricted to pottery (personal communication, 1976). Whether Cobalt blue was used to the total exclusion of all other blue pigments is as yet uncertain.

The red is probably derived from an ochre of iron (Lucas, 1962:384) and the dark brown is either a more concentrated mixture of the same, or carbon. Occasionally dark brown or black was obtained from an oxide of iron or an oxide of manganese (Lucas, 1962:384).

Lucas assumed that the paint was applied to the vessels after they were fired (1962:384). However, as several potters have pointed out to me, if this was so then it would be very unstable and easily rubbed off, as is the case with the painted amphorae of the period (Hope, 1977 Part II). This is not true of the blue-painted vessels. The paint adheres to the surface and can only be removed by abrading the surface, and it can withstand temperatures of up to 1023°C⁴. If, as now seems most probable, the paint was applied before firing then carbon, which is very unstable, would not have been used for the black pigment as it would burn off (Lucas, 1962:384).

The Decoration:

MM 18600 and MM 11119 are very typical of the painted pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom, em-



MM 11119. Detail.

ploying a mixture of floral and linear motifs. This decoration tends to become rather standardised and conventional, as these two examples illustrate. It consists of a limited repertoire of motifs which are repeated in various combinations, frequently relieved by scenes from nature, such as birds amongst thickets and fishes swimming in water, and girls punting. Even when depicting such active scenes the decoration is restricted by the rigid use of precisely defined registers. These are delineated by either single lines or by the common device of a red line between two blue lines all edged in brown black. Both of these devices are illustrated by the two vessels under discussion. Decoration in registers is typical of all Egyptian art and not even the plastic arts escape it; it is purely horizontal, with only circular movement. The main elements are all floral and they are probably derived from the use of floral garlands to decorate wine jars etc. at banquets and other festive occasions.

The painted decoration was applied with varying

degrees of care and accuracy. MM 18600 and MM 11119 illustrate this point. In contrast to the care taken with the application of the designs on MM 11119, those on MM 18600 appear to have been applied haphazardly. The outlines of the petals in the third register do not coincide with the blue they are intended to delineate, and the bottoms of these petals project below the lower band. The undulating line below the overlapping petals in the second register is very irregular and the outlines of these petals are applied at random. On the other hand, the blue bands of MM 11119 maintain an evenness of width, the outlines of the petals are more equidistant from each other, and the outlines of various motifs do coincide with them.

Quite what this difference indicates is uncertain, but it is apparent throughout the history of this type of pottery. Various explanations do present themselves, though no one explanation accounts for it entirely.

It may be related to the size of the vessel, for larger pots are frequently decorated with less care than the smaller ones. The area to be covered varied and as the larger vessels afforded the potter/painter more surface area he could adopt a more free flowing style. This would affect brush work as well as choice of motifs; the more lively and scenic decoration is much more frequently found on large storage vessels and bottles.

Or, it may be related to the function of the vessel, for smaller bowls, jars and goblets would be handled at close quarters, while the large jars and bowls would be used for storage and the serving of food, and would mostly be seen from a distance. There may even have been some financial consideration, the cost of the vessel being dependent upon its quality, and various qualities being produced for the various social classes.

It is interesting to note that the decorative schemes used for these two vessels are typical of the decoration of those particular shapes. Most funnel-necked jars are decorated like MM 18600, and small jars as MM 11119. This is not only true of the designs used but also of the area covered, i.e. the decoration rarely extends below the widest part of the vessel.

From this it would appear that there existed some sort of standardised set of combinations dependent on the type of vessel to be decorated, and the position on the vessel. This might indicate that a central group of potters were responsible for the production of blue-painted pottery. They perhaps moved with the court during each reign and supplied its demand,⁵ and those of its accompanying artisans.



MM 18600. Detail.

The Date:

The lack of provenance and find context of MM 18600, and the uncertainty of the provenance of MM 11119, make exact dating of these two vessels difficult. Their shapes are typical of the ceramic horizon of the New Kingdom, and parallels can be found at most of the major sites of the period (e.g. Gurob, Malkata, Amarna and Deir el Medineh); the use of the blue pigment is restricted to that period also⁶.

The exact date of the appearance of this type of pottery is as yet uncertain. Petrie proposed a date sometime in the reign of Tuthmosis III (1907:25-26) based upon evidence from Rifeh. Examples of this type of pottery have been found at the Funerary Temples of Amenophis II (Petrie: 1897, pl. V 7-12) and Tuthmosis IV (1 piece is now in the Petrie collection, UC 15942).

Also dating to Tuthmosis IV is a vessel found in the tomb of Nakht at Thebes (No. 52) which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, (MMA 15.10.171; Davies: 1917:41 and pl. XXIX.2), an amphora from the tomb of Tjanuni at Thebes (No. 74), (Brack and Brack, 1975, 23 and pl. 11) and a ring-stand whose provenance is unknown and which is now in the Petrie collection (UC 24667). Dated to the period of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV, by Petrie, is a small bottle found at Rifeh (Petrie: 1907 pl. XXVIII, 398) possibly to be identified with UC 19150 in the Petrie collection, and a jar from Rifeh similar to that from the tomb of Nakht (Petrie: 1907, pl. XXVII K 357). However, the material from Rifeh is not securely dated to these reigns, and the pieces from the temples of Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis II may be-

long to the reign of Amenophis III. The latter reused the temple of Amenophis II for his daughter Sitamun (Petrie: 1897, 6 + 9) and made additions to the temple of Tuthmosis IV (Petrie: 1897, 7).

The main period of the production of blue-painted pottery was undoubtedly during the second half of the 18th dynasty and the 19th dynasty (c. 1417–1166 B.C.)⁷, and especially during the reigns of Amenophis III and Akhenaton (c. 1417–1362 B.C.). This period witnessed the flourishing of minor arts and the production of a vast amount of painted pottery which was unequalled at any other period.

Tentatively, I would ascribe these two vessels to the period covered by the reigns of Amenophis III and Akhenaton, as they are exactly paralleled by material from the recent excavations at Malkata⁸.

¹ I should like to thank Dr Bengt Peterson for suggesting that I publish these two vessels, and for including my article in the Bulletin, and also Professor H. S. Smith for checking the manuscript.

² I use the term "slip" to refer to a coating over the vessel, without any reference to its composition.

³ Major Gayer-Anderson lived in Egypt from 1906 until 1942. He gathered a large collection of antiquities which was accommodated in two houses near the Mosque of Ibn Tulun, Cairo. Where most of these objects were bought or acquired is unknown. The collection contained many fragments of reliefs in Amarna style, and a sizeable collection of blue-painted pottery, mostly sherds. These are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. From the style of these sherds they probably came originally from either Malkata or Amarna.

⁴ This has been proved during recent re-firing experiments on blue-painted sherds by Mr Kenneth Clarke, London. All such sherds that were tested retained their blue pigment, unaltered and of the same colour, until the sherds themselves disintegrated at 1066°C.

⁵ I shall deal with this question at length in my Ph. D. thesis on blue-painted pottery, to be presented at University College, London.

⁶ There are a few sherds from excavations at el-Tarif cemetery with blue-painted designs, which date from the 11th dynasty. The motifs are not those used during the 18th

dynasty. See: Do. Arnold, *Weiteres zur Keramik von el-Tarif*, MDAIK 28, 33–46, 1972.

⁷ The dates used in this article are those proposed in the Cambridge Ancient History, revised edition.

⁸ This material will be published by the present writer.

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Gesicht und Kunststil

Ein Repertorium der ägyptischen Kunstentwicklung der Spätzeit anhand von Grabfiguren

Bengt Peterson

Die Kunstproduktion der 26. Dynastie bedeutet eine neue Phase in der Geschichte der ägyptischen Kunst, als das Gewicht der alten Traditionen in eigenartiger Weise gegen neue Tendenzen kontrastiert. In der Skulptur sieht man auf der einen Seite die klassizistische Strömung, die auf das kanonische Erbe vergangener Epochen zurückblickt, und auf der anderen Seite die unmittelbare Überlieferung der kuschitischen Dynastie mit der Tendenz zu Realismus und Individualität in den Darstellungen. Das Schwergewicht der Kunstproduktion hat im Delta seinen Platz, wo die neuen Herrscher Traditionen entwickeln, welche im Anfang zu einem Neuschaffen eben innerhalb des Realismus, den die unmittelbaren Vorgänger der 25. Dynastie vorwiegend vertraten, zu leiten scheint. Bald weichen aber diese Tendenzen zugunsten einer neuen Variante der klassizistischen Tradition, eines idealisierenden Koine-Typus, der dann die letzten Jahrhunderte des pharaonischen Kunstschöpfens beeinflussen wird, um erst während der ptolemäischen Zeit mit Tendenzen einer individuellen Porträtgestaltung variiert zu werden.

Aus topographischem Gesichtspunkt ist die Skulptur der Spätzeit noch nicht ausreichend studiert, um ein klares Unterscheiden zwischen verschiedenen lokalen Traditionen und Schulen möglich zu machen. Das Studium ist auch bisher nicht allen Äusserungen des Kunstlebens gewidmet gewesen, sondern umfasst vor allem die Grossskulptur. Der Zweck dieser kleinen Arbeit ist, die Aufmerksamkeit auf eine Plastikgruppe zu lenken, auf die Uschebti-Figuren, die prinzipiell in jeder Grabsausstattung ihren Platz hatten, und zu zeigen, dass dieses massenweise hergestellte Kunstprodukt zum Studium der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Skulptur und Plastik der Spätzeit beitragen kann.

Diese Figuren sind ein Teil der Kunstproduktion und

spiegeln dieselben Strömungen wider, die die Monumentalskulptur prägen. Während der Spätzeit sind sie manchmal von einer ausserordentlichen Qualität. Das Material ist durchgehend Fayence, deren Glasur öfters blau oder grün ist oder in Schattierungen dazwischen besteht. Meistens sind die Figuren modelliert, also nicht formgepresst. In diesem Artikel gilt das Studium fast bloss den Gesichtern der Figuren, weil die mumienförmigen Körper meistens für eine stilistische Untersuchung unwesentlich sind. Die Gesichter sind wie immer in ägyptischer Kunst keine Porträts und spiegeln nicht die individuellen Züge einer historischen Gestalt wider. Die *historische* Ikonographie bleibt für Ägypten ohne Belang.

Durch die Inschriften auf den Körpern, öfters mit dem 6. Totenbuchkapitel, aber immer mit Namen, meistens auch Titel, sind die Figuren identifizierbar. Sie können auch oft datiert und lokalisiert werden. In manchen Fällen stammen sie aus bekannten Ausgrabungen, in vielen aber müssen die Herkunftsangaben hypothetisch sein. Mit Namen, Datierung und Herkunft gibt es gute Voraussetzungen für ein topographisches Studium. Es muss jedoch eine Hypothese bleiben, ob die Figuren an ihrem Verwendungsplatz hergestellt sind; theoretisch können Herstellungszentren, an welche Bestellungen von fremden Orten gerichtet werden konnten, existiert haben. Es könnte wichtig sein, ganze Serien von Figuren von derselben Stadt aufzuzeigen, sie chronologisch zu präsentieren, damit wir überhaupt zu sicheren Datierungs- und Zuschreibungsmöglichkeiten für andere Figuren kommen können. Hier soll bloss eine Anzahl Figuren aus der Zeit der 26.–30. Dynastie im Medelhavsmuseet präsentiert werden, um damit die Wichtigkeit eines solchen Studiums zu unterstreichen. Mehrere von diesen Figuren sind bisher unpubliziert und – auch wenn

schon früher veröffentlicht – bisher oft nicht korrekt identifiziert. Deshalb haben diese Figuren auch ein prosopographisches Interesse. Sie folgen hier in topographischer Folge; mehrere haben eine sichere Herkunft, andere aber sind nur durch Zuschreibungen lokalisiert, weshalb man immer Vorsicht walten lassen muss.

Was man aus einem Studium dieser Art zunächst erschliessen kann, wird aus einer Betrachtung des vorliegenden Materials deutlich, nämlich die lokalen Eigenarten. Die ganze Kunstentwicklung dieser Epoche der letzten Dynastien hier zu sehen, in diesem begrenztem Material von Figuren, die sich zufälligerweise in Stockholm befinden, ist natürlich nicht möglich. Man kann aber schon die Tendenzen sehen, den oft im 7. und 6. Jahrhundert vorkommenden Hang zum Realismus im Delta, die kanonische klassizistische Tradition in Sakkara und die für Mittelägypten bisher wenig beachteten typischen Gesichtszüge. Auch er-

sichtlich ist die Gipfelleistung der Künstler im Sakkara der 26. Dynastie, wo eine schon uralte Kunsttradition nochmals zum Aufblühen kommt. Und schliesslich kann man ja beobachten, wie die Qualität für die ganze Gruppe von Uschebtis allmählich schlechter wird, wie das Stereotype mit der Zeit sich ausbreitet und dominiert. Nur ein paar Ausnahmen zeigen, dass man gelegentlich nach der 26. Dynastie hochstehende Produkte hervorbrachte, sonst herrscht die Massenware. Die Uschebtis haben an dem letzten künstlerischen Aufblühen der pharaonischen Kunst in der ptolemäischen Zeit keinen Anteil.

Für wertvolle Auskünfte und Berichtigungen meiner Resultate danke ich aufrichtig meinen Kollegen Dr Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, Paris, Dr Anna Donadoni, Turin, Dr Jaromír Málek, Oxford, Prof. Dr Herman de Meulenaere, Brüssel, Dr Helmut Satzinger, Wien, und Dr Edith Varga, Budapest.



Delta: Sais

1. *psmtk*

MM: Deposition Gardell, blassgrüne Fayence, H. 18 cm.

Mutmasslich von Sais. 26. Dyn. zwischen 664–610 v.Chr.

Parallelen: Berlin¹, Kopenhagen², London³, Eton⁴, Wien⁵, Kairo⁶, Paris⁷.

Diese Figur hat mehrere realistische Züge: der schwelende Körper, das schwere fette Gesicht mit Neigung zu Doppelkinn, der kleine, etwas plumpe Mund. Die Identifikation wird zweimal durch (𓂏𓏏𓂏𓏏), Der König von Ober- und Unterägypten Psamtichos, gegeben. Die königliche Würde wird durch Nemes-

Tuch und Kobra angezeigt. Die Identifikation ist aber nicht vollständig aufgrund des Homonymproblems: welcher von den drei Königen dieses Namens ist es? Das Problem ist von H. R. Hall⁸ und J.-F. und L. Aubert⁹ erörtert worden. Die letzten meinen, dass man in den oben erwähnten Parallelen der Stockholmer Figur Psammetichos I. sehen sollte; Halls Identifikation der British Museum-Figur mit Psammetichos II. ist eine fragliche Änderung der früher in demselben Museum als Psammetichos I. aufgefassten Figur¹⁰. Die Verfasser der Kommentare in „*Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*“ halten die Figuren in Wien und im British Museum für Psammetichos I.¹¹. Rundskulpturen mit erhaltenem Kopf von diesem König sind nicht bekannt, weshalb keine Vergleiche möglich sind¹²; die Skulpturen von Psammetichos II. sind im Charakter ganz anders als die hier behandelten Uschebtifiguren¹³. Keine ihm zuschreibbaren Uschebtis sind bekannt. Aus stilistischen Gründen kann Psammetichos III. hier ganz ausgeschlossen werden. Von anderen Königen der 26. Dynastie sind nur Uschebtis des Apries und des Amasis bekannt¹⁴. Diese sind von sehr schlechter Qualität und können mit vorliegender

Gruppe nicht verglichen werden.

Ohne zu vergessen, dass die Figuren dieser Gruppe nicht als Porträts zu betrachten sind, möchten wir annehmen, dass diese mit Psammetichos I. zusammengehören, da die stilistischen Züge seiner Zeit mit dem Erbe des neuen Realismus noch hervortreten. Die Gesichter dieser Figuren gehören zu den realistischsten der ganzen 26. Dynastie. Es gibt eine augenfällige Variation zwischen den Figuren in der Gruppe. Während z.B. die British Museum-Figur zu den plumpsten und unschönsten gehört, gibt es eine gewisse stringente Eleganz im Gesicht der Stockholmer Figur.

Für sämtliche Figuren ist die Herkunft unbekannt¹⁵. Wie alle Königsgräber der 26. Dynastie ist das Psammetichos' I. unbekannt. Vermutlich war es in Sais, in der Residenz, angelegt. Herodot sagt, dass Apries und die anderen Könige der saitischen Dynastie ihre Gräber in dieser Stadt hatten¹⁶. Ein Uschebti des Apries ist in Sais gefunden worden¹⁷. Die Herkunft Sais für die Figuren Psammetichos' I. ist plausibel; man sollte sich jedoch an die geographische Verbreitung der Königinnengräber derselben Dynastie erinnern¹⁸.

¹ Ehem. Kgl. Museen: unpubliziert, cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 211.

² Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek: unpubliziert, ohne Kopf, cf. *ibidem* 212.

³ British Museum: H. R. Hall, *Three Royal Shabtis in The British Museum*, JEA 17, 1931, 10 ff.; University College: Fl. Petrie, *Shabtis*, London 1935, Nr. 574 (dort falsch als *Nekht-her-heb* angegeben).

⁴ Eton College: unpubliziert, cf. Aubert, *op.cit.*, 212.

⁵ Kunsthistorisches Museum: E. Komorzynski, *Altägypten*, Wien 1952, Abb. 45.

⁶ Ägyptisches Museum: JE 86759, unpubliziert, cf. Aubert, *op.cit.*, 212.

⁷ Privat: unpubliziert, cf. *ibidem*, 212.

⁸ Hall, *op.cit.*, 11 f.

⁹ Aubert, *op.cit.*, 211 f.

¹⁰ British Museum, *A Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms, and the Coptic Room*, London 1922, 5.

¹¹ Brooklyn Museum, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, Brooklyn 1960, 30.

¹² *Ibidem*, 29 f.

¹³ Cf. vor allem H. W. Müller, *Ein Königsbildnis der 26. Dynastie mit der „Blauen Krone“ im Museo Civico zu Bologna*, ZÄS 80, 1955, 46 ff.

¹⁴ Aubert, *op.cit.*, 213 f.

¹⁵ Die angebliche memphitische Herkunft der Kairo-Figur ist dunkel, cf. Aubert, *op.cit.*, 212.

¹⁶ Herodot II, 169; cf. L. Habachi, *Sais and Its Monuments*, ASAE 42, 1943, 369 ff.

¹⁷ G. Daressy, *Rapport sur les fouilles à Sa El-Hagar*, ASAE 2, 1901, 230 ff.

¹⁸ Aubert, *op.cit.*, 213 ff.



Delta: Sais

3. *hn-3t(-j)*

NME 118, blaugrüne Fayence, H. 20 cm, vor 1868 erworben¹.

Mit Sais verbunden. 26. Dynastie am wahrscheinlichsten.

Parallelen: keine.

Dieser Mann ist 𓆎 und 𓆏 , hat also neben dem geläufigen Priestertitel *hm-ntr* den Ehrentitel, der ihn mit

¹ Früher publiziert bei S. V. Wängstedt, *Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin 5, 1969, 22 ff., Nr. 11. Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 263.

² Cf. H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I*, Glückstadt 1935, 229:19. Die dort erwähnte Figur Louvre 2734

Sais in Verbindung setzt. Sein Name ist 𓆎 , von 𓆎 , *isjw*, geboren². Aufgrund des Titels Domänenvorsteher erfolgt auch die Datierung, da dieser Titel fast nie nach der 26. Dynastie vorkommt³.

Die Figur ist nach Grösse und Darstellungstypus mit NME 120 (oben Nr. 2) verwandt. Das Gesicht ist mehr abgerundet. Sonst zeigt es ungefähr dieselbe ein bisschen zu grobe Modellierung ohne feine Details.

gehört einer anderen Person, was Dr Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt freundlicherweise untersuchen liess. Keine von diesen beiden Personen gehört zu der berühmten Henat-Familie.

³ Cf. E. Jelínková, *Un titre saite emprunté à l'Ancien Empire*, ASAE 55, 1958, 106.





Delta: Sais

4. *ḥwj (-wj)-psmtk*

- NME 163, gelbgrüne Fayence, H. 12,4 cm, vor 1868 erworben¹.
- NME 166, gelbgrüne Fayence, H. 12 cm, vor 1868 erworben¹.
- SHM 6819:797, gelbgrüne Fayence, H. 11,5 cm, 1881 erworben¹.

Mit Sais verbunden. 26. Dynastie am wahrscheinlichsten.

Parallelen: Paris², Krakau³, Orléans⁴, ehem. Samml. Alnwick Castle⁵.

Auf zweien von diesen Figuren trägt der Mann *ḥwj (-wj)-psmtk*, von *ḥwj (-wj)-psmtk*, *ḥwj (-wj)-psmtk*, geboren, die Titel *ḥwj (-wj)-psmtk*, Gottesvater und Domänenvorsteher,

auf NME 163 ist auch der Titel *ḥwj (-wj)-psmtk*, Königlicher Herold⁶, zwischen den beiden anderen eingefügt. Es liegt also wie bei den Figuren Nr. 2 und 3 oben eine offenbare Anknüpfung an Sais vor, desgleichen auch eine wahrscheinliche Datierung in die 26. Dynastie⁷.

Die Gesichter der Figuren sind grob und flüchtig geschnitten. NME 166 und SHM 6819:797 sind sehr ähnlich, während NME 163 von einer anderen Hand gemacht zu sein scheint. Gewiss sind diese Figuren sehr einfach und ohne künstlerische Qualität. Wenn sie aufgrund des Names wie des Titels (*ḥrp ḥww.t*) der 26. Dynastie angehören sollten, zeigen sie die grosse Spannweite der Qualität, die es schon damals gab.

¹ NME 163 und NME 166 publiziert, SHM 6819:797 erwähnt bei S. V. Wängstedt, *Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 5, 1969, 22 ff., Nr. 18. Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 263.

² Kunsthandel: unpubliziert, cf. Aubert, op.cit., 263.

³ Krakau: J. Pomorska, Uszebtu w zbiorach Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie i Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 11, 1967, 19 ff, Nr 25–28.

⁴Orléans: A. Baillet, Notice sur la collection égyptienne de M. l'abbé Desnoyers, in A. Baillet, Oeuvres diverses 2,

Paris 1905, Nr. 350.

⁵ Alnwick Castle: S. Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, London 1880, Nr. 1882.

⁶ Wängstedts Lesung 𐌹𐌿𐌳𐌰𐌽𐌴𐌹𐌸 scheint mir nicht wahrscheinlich.

⁷ Ein Vorkommen desselben Namens und Titels in der 27. Dynastie: E. Chassinat, *Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis*, Rec. Trav. 25, 1903, 60. Eine Identität kann aber nicht festgestellt werden.



Delta: Pharbaetos

5. *p³-dj-sm³-t³.wj*

NME 117, grüne Fayence, H. 16 cm, vor 1868 erworben.

**Mutmasslich von Pharbaetos, 26. Dyn. Der Besitzer
tätig unter Psammetichos II., 595–589 v.Chr.**

Parallelen: Limoges¹, Annecy².

Die Qualität der Figur ist gering, das Gesicht zeigt aber Details, die nicht ganz stereotyp sind. In den groben scharfen Zügen gibt es einen gewissen Realismus. Die Inschrift nennt Titel und Namen ḥꜣḫꜣwꜣtjꜣ Var. ꜥꜣwꜣtjꜣ, Der Grosse Kämpfer, Herr des Triumphes p3-dj-sm3-t3.wj. Die Titel bezeichnen gewöhnlicherweise den Oberpriester in Tanis. Der einzige bekannte Mann, der dieselben Titel und denselben Namen trug, war der General Padisemataui, der in mehrerer Hin-

sicht historisch bekannt ist. Vor allem kennt man ihn als einen von den Leitern der Expedition Psammetichos' II. gegen König Aspelta im Sudan, als er Anführer der ausländischen Soldaten war, u.a. Griechen, unter welchen er als Potasimto bekannt war³. Sein Sarkophag sowie eine grosse Opferschale aus Stein wurden am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in Pharbaetos gefunden⁴.

Die beiden Parallelen sind merkbar anders als die Stockholmer Figur geformt. Sie sind viel eleganter und in idealisierendem Stil. In den Inschriften weisen sie auch noch einen Titel samt Filiationsangabe auf. Die Variationen zwischen den Figuren in einer und derselben Grabgruppe können aber manchmal so bedeutend sein, dass es nicht zu gewagt wäre, die Stock-

holmer Figur dem bekannten Würdenträger Padisemataui zuzuschreiben.

Wenn die eleganten idealisierenden Figuren in seinem Grab das Neue, das erst unter Amasis fast völlig durchdringen sollte, repräsentierten, so sind die Figuren des vorliegenden Stockholmer Typus ein Rest des Alten, wo noch etwas vom Realismus übrigge-

blieben ist. Das Grab Padisematauis wurde schon in der Antike geplündert. Die eine von den Parallelfiguren, in Annecy gefunden, wurde in einem archäologischen Kontext angetroffen, der zeigt, wie eine Figur aus Ägypten während der Römerzeit ein „*souvenir d'Egypte*“ werden konnte.

¹ Musée de Limoges: J. Capart, *Enquêtes*, Potasimto, CdE 29, 1940, 116 f. Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 221 f.

² Musée d'Annecy: S. Ratié, Un „Chaouabti“ du général Potasimto au Musée d'Annecy, BIFAO 61, 1962, 43 ff. Cf. Aubert, op.cit., 221 f.

³ Cf. J. Yoyotte, Potasimto de Pharbaïthos et le titre „grand combattant – maître de triomphe“. CdE 28, 1953, 101 ff.; Sauneron- J. Yoyotte, La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique, BIFAO 50, 1952, 157 ff.; F. K. Kienitz, Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis

zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende, Berlin 1953, 42; M. F. Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies and Administration*, 663 to 323 B. C., Chapel Hill 1959, 31; S. Pernigotti, Il generale Potasimto e la sua famiglia, Studi Classici e Orientali 17, 1968, 251 f.

⁴ B. Porter & R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings IV*, Oxford 1934, 27; A. Rowe, New Light on Objects belonging to the Generals Potasimto and Amasis in the Egyptian Museum, ASAE 38, 1938, 157 ff.; H. de Meulenaere, Le surnom égyptien à la basse époque, Leiden 1966, 12, Nr. 34.



Delta: Nebesheh

6. hr-wd³

MM: Deposition Gardell, blassgrüne Fayence, H. 17 cm.

Aus Grab 40 in Nebesheh. Vermutlich 30. Dynastie¹. Parallelen: Kairo².

Im Grab 40 in Tell Nebesheh fand Flinders Petrie Figuren des Mannes ꜥꜣ, geboren von ꜥꜣꜥ, wꜥdj.t-m-hꜣ.t. Er trägt die Titel ꜥꜣꜥꜣꜣ, Oberster der

Sänger, Gottesdiener. Die Figuren werden im Grabungsbericht dem saïtischen Stile zugeschrieben³, doch sind sie später als die 26. Dynastie. Teils wegen des Inschriftstypus mit der Kombination einer horizontalen und einer vertikalen Zeile und teils wegen des stilistischen Typus des Gesichtes ist dies offenbar. Die harten präzisen Gesichtszüge, der scharfe Augenwinkel – im Profil gesehen – und das ziemlich schmale

Gesicht stimmen gut mit dem oft stereotypen Stil der Skulptur der 30. Dynastie überein. Interessant zu

bemerken ist, dass die Augenpupillen wiedergegeben sind, was bei Uschebtis ziemlich ungewöhnlich ist.

¹ Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 254.

² Ägyptisches Museum: P. E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes*

and *Model Sarcophagi*, OGC, Kairo 1930–1957, Nr. 47604.

³ Fl. Petrie, *Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, London 1888, 37 und Taf. 13.










Delta: Mendes

7. *ns-b3-nb-dd(.t)*

MME 1969:76, blaugrüne Fayence, H. 16,5 cm.

Aus einem Grab in Tell Roba. 30. Dynastie oder etwas später¹.

Parallelen: Berlin², London³, Kairo⁴, verschiedene Orte⁵.

In einem Grabe in Tell Roba wurden 1902 360 Figuren von fünf verschiedenen Typen und zudem noch mehrere Fragmente gefunden⁶. Von diesen waren 322 von demselben Typus wie die vorliegende Figur mit der Inschrift in zwei Zeilen, horizontal/vertikal. Der Besitzer der Figuren war der Mann , von  geboren⁷. Auf der Stockholmer Figur trägt er die Titel     . Der Mann, dessen Namen von R. Anthes *dhwtj-b3* gelesen wurde⁸, war ein Hoherpriester in Mendes. Seine Titel wurden von J. Yoyotte übersetzt, der auch die singuläre Schreibung seines Names gedeutet hat: *Chambellan*.

*Arbitre des deux dieux, Prophète d'Osiris dans Anpet (Mendes), Scribe du trésor (?) divin, Supérieur des prêtres de Sekhmet dans le nome du Dauphin, Prophète du Béliet Seigneur de Mendes*⁹.

Die Datierung des Grabes ist unsicher. Doch ist der Stil der Uschebti-Figuren ohne Zweifel dem der letzten Dynastien ähnlich. Interessant ist, den Realismus – obwohl doch stereotyp mit lächelndem Mund und kräftigen, hart hervorgehobenen Linien der Augenbrauen – zu bemerken, der den Kopf prägt. Besonders ist das Profil durch eine individualisierende Modellierung der Nase lebendig gemacht.

¹ Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 255.

² Privatbesitz: unpubliziert, Namen bei R. Anthes, *Die Verwendung des Schriftzeichens f für den Lautwert n*, ZÄS 74, 1938, 109 ff., Nr. 7.

³ British Museum: unpubliziert, cf. Aubert, *op.cit.*, 255. Kunsthandel: unpubliziert, cf. Sotheby, *Catalogue* 12–13 July 1976, Nr. 415.

⁴ Ägyptisches Museum: JE 35442, unpubliziert, cf. H. de Meulenaere – B. MacKay, *Mendes II*, Warminster 1976, 203, Nr. 100.

⁵ Cf. Aubert, *op.cit.*, 255. Prof. Dr H. de Meulenaere erwähnt

ein unpubliziertes Stück in Brooklyn (05.401). Interessant ist es zu bemerken, dass das Medelhavsmuseet eine von den 15 grösseren Figuren des Mannes besitzt, und zwar als Kopie aus massiver Bronze. Die Figur wurde 1969 aus einer Privatsammlung dem Museum zugeführt (ohne Inventarnummer).

⁶ J. E. Quibell, *Note on a Tomb Found at Tell er Robâ*, ASAE 3, 1902, 245 ff.

⁷ So auf der Stockholmer Figur. Auf der von R. Anthes zitierten Figur (*op.cit.*, Nr. 7) liest man 𓂏𓂏𓂏.

⁸ R. Anthes, *op.cit.*, 111.

⁹ In Aubert, *op.cit.*, 255.



Delta: Mendes

8. *p3-šrl-(n-) t3-ih*

NME 123, ursprünglich grüne Fayence, H. des Fragmentes 10.8 cm, vor 1868 erworben.

Mutmasslich aus Mendes aufgrund der Titel. 26. Dynastie oder später.

Parallelen: keine.

Der Name des Mannes ist 𓂏𓂏 Var. 𓂏𓂏, von 𓂏𓂏, *p3-dj-b3st.t* (?), und der Hausfrau 𓂏𓂏,

*nsw-b3st.t*¹ geboren. Seine Titel sind 𓂏𓂏, beide herkömmlicherweise mit Mendes verknüpft.

Das Gesicht der Figur ist gut modelliert. Mund und Nase – beide etwas zugespitzt – geben dem Gesicht einen individuellen Charakter. Die Augen sind durch die verhältnismässig seltene Wiedergabe der Pupillen lebendig gemacht.

¹ Die Lesung des Names ist unklar. 𓂏 kann für *nsw* stehen, cf. H. W. Fairman, *An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and Their Values*, BIFAO 43, 1945, 99. Die

Schreibung des Titels „Hausfrau“ ist auch mit 𓂏 für 𓂏 meistens ptolemäisch.



Delta: Mendes

9. *ḏtj* ...

NME 132, grüne Fayence, H. 15 cm, vor 1868 erworben.

Mutmasslich aus Mendes aufgrund der Titel. 26. Dynastie oder später.

Parallelen: keine.

Die Lesung des Names des Mannes ist ungewiss: *ḏtj*. Dagegen sind die Titel völlig klar: *ḏtj*, die ihm die Anknüpfung an Mendes geben.

Die Figur ist primitiv hergestellt und hat keine künstlerische Qualität.





Sakkara

10. *nfr-lb-r^c -s²-n.t*

- a. MM 10226, grüne Fayence, H. 19,8 cm¹.
- b. MM 14983, grüne Fayence, H. 18,8 cm¹.
- c. MME 1974:156, grüne Fayence, H. 19,5 cm¹.
- d. MME 1974:158, grüne Fayence, H. 21 cm¹.

Aus seinem Grab in Sakkara. 26. Dynastie, unter Amasis, 570–526 v.Chr.

Parallelen: Helsingborg², Budapest², Florenz⁴, London⁵, Paris⁶, Lausanne⁷, Zürich⁸, Kopenhagen⁹ und mehrere im Kunsthandel¹⁰.

Neferibresaneiths Figuren sind die, die vor allen anderen den Klassizismus des 6. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. in Sakkara repräsentieren. Das volle, weiche Gesicht mit dem leicht lächelnden Mund ist von einer ausserordentlichen Arbeit. Die Figuren sind an Qualität etwas unterschiedlich¹¹, alle gehören aber zu den besten Uschebtis, die je hergestellt worden sind.

Das Grab wurde 1929 ausgegraben¹². Es lag inner-

halb des Tempelgebiets des Pharaos Userkaf in Sakkara. Zusammen wurden 336 Figuren gefunden. Ihre Inschriften geben im 6. Kapitel des Totenbuches den Namen des Mannes *nfr-lb-r^c* Var. *nfr-lb-r^c* samt dem seiner Mutter *šp-n-b³st.t.*, jedoch keine Titel. Neferibresaneiths viele Hof- und Amtstitel sind aber in anderen Inschriften des Grabes belegt. Der Name des Mannes ist nach dem einen Namen Psammetichos' II. gebildet, der also einen terminus post quem für die Datierung gibt. Diese ist aber auch von dem gleichzeitig konstruierten Grabe, das neben dem Neferibresaneiths lag, bedingt, dessen Inhaber einen Namen hat, der nach dem des Pharaos Apries gebildet ist. Beide Männer waren wahrscheinlich unter der langen Regierungszeit des Amasis tätig.

Die im Grab gefundenen Figuren wurden vom Ägyptischen Museum zu Kairo stückweise verkauft.

¹ MM 10226 und MM 14983 früher bei S. V. Wängstedt, Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit, Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin 5, 1969, 22 ff., Nr. 5 publiziert bzw. erwähnt. MME 1974:158 (früher wie MME 1974:156 in der Sammlung Königs Gustaf VI Adolf) ausgestellt 5000 år egyptisk konst, Nationalmuseum Stockholm 1961, Katalognr. 179, abgebildet in Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok 1975, Lund 1975, 197, und in Medelhavsmuseet, Egyptiska utställningen, Stockholm 1976, 14.

² Privat: unpubliziert.

³ Szépművészeti Múzeum: E. Nagy, Deux ouschebti saïtes de la collection égyptienne du Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bulletin du Musée des Beaux-Arts 36, Budapest 1971, 3 ff.

⁴ Museo Egizio: G. Botti, Nuove accessioni del Museo Egizio di Firenze con iscrizioni geroglifiche, Epigraphica 16, 1954, 3 ff.

⁵ Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, Statuettes égyptiennes, Paris 1974, 230.

⁶ Privat: cf. ibidem, 230.

⁷ Privat: cf. ibidem, 230.

⁸ Privat: Libresso Buchhandlung, Antike und Orient, Katalog, Zürich o.J., Abb. Nr. 12. Auch Galerie am Neumarkt, Antiken Auktion XXII, 1971, Katalog, Taf. 47.

⁹ Privat: Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Antik kunst i dansk privateje, Ausstellungskatalog, Kopenhagen 1974, Nr. 12.

¹⁰ New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, Ancient Egyptian Art, Jan. 30–31, 1952, Nr. 41 (Abb. S. 7); cf. auch Aubert, op.cit., 230. Weiter London: Sotheby, Catalogue 27 June 1977, Nr. 143, pl. II. Es haben sich noch zwei Figuren im Medelhavsmuseet befunden, die aber in den 40-er Jahren gestohlen worden sind, MM 14981 (H. 18 cm) und MM 14982 (H. 18,5 cm).

¹¹ Cf. E. Drioton- J. P. Lauer, Fouilles à Saqqarah, Les tombes jumelées de Neferibrê-Sa-Neith et de Ouahibrê-Men, ASAE 51, 1951, 469 ff., Taf. 8.

¹² Ibidem und auch C. M. Firth, Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara, ASAE 29, 1929, 64 ff.



Sakkara

11. *hk3-m-s3.f*

MM 10210, grüne Fayence, H. 18,5 cm¹.

Aus seinem Grab in Sakkara. 26. Dynastie, unter Amasis 570–526 v.Chr.

Parallelen: Asti², Baltimore³, Kairo⁴, Hildesheim⁵, Lyon⁵, Mariemont⁷, München⁸, Stockholm⁹, Uppsala¹⁰, Linköping¹¹, Paris¹², mehrere privat und im Kunsthandel¹³.

In ihrer schlanken Eleganz mit u.a. den fein modellierten Knien ist die Figur eine von den vornehmsten Exponenten des Klassizismus, der für die besten Uschebtis der 26. und 27. Dynastie aus Sakkara kennzeichnend ist. Das weiche Gesicht ist dem Neferib-

resaneiths (oben Nr. 10) sehr ähnlich. Die Inschrift befindet sich auf dem Rückenpfiler und zeigt, dass die Figur dem Leiter der königlichen Lastfahrzeuge Hekaemsaf *ḥk3-m-s3.f* gehörte¹⁴. Sein Grab ist bei der Unas-Pyramide in Sakkara angelegt¹⁵. Es wurde während des Winters 1903–1904 gefunden und ausgegraben, wobei sich 401 Figuren unter den Fundstücken befanden¹⁶. Sie wurden später vom Ägyptischen Museum in Kairo verkauft. Die prosopographischen Details sind von J. C. Goyon und G. Björkman herausgearbeitet¹⁷. Goyon hat aufgrund einer Inschrift auf einem Siegel den Mann in die Zeit des Pharao Amasis datiert.

¹ Früher publiziert bei S. V. Wängstedt, Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 5, 1969, 22 ff., Nr. 8.

² Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 228.

³ Walters Art Gallery: G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1946, Nr. 731–732.

⁴ Ägyptisches Museum: JE 35905, unpubliziert, cf. J. C. Goyon, *La statuette funéraire I. E. 84 de Lyon et le titre saïte*, *BIFAO* 67, 1969, 159 ff.

⁵ Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum: zuletzt H. Kayser, *Die ägyptischen*

Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim, 105.

⁶ Institut d'Égyptologie: J. C. Goyon, *op.cit.*

⁷ Musée de Mariemont: *Les antiquités du Musée de Mariemont*, Bruxelles 1952, 53.

⁸ Cf. J. C. Goyon, *op.cit.*, 161, Anm. 9.

⁹ Privat: unpubliziert.

¹⁰ Victoria-Museum: G. Björkman, *A Funerary Statuette of Hekaemsaf, Chief of the Royal Ships in the Saitic Period*, *From the Gustavianum Collections in Uppsala*, 1974, *Boreas* 6, Uppsala 1974, 69 ff.

¹¹ Östergötlands och Linköpings Stads Museum: G. Björk-

man, A Selection of the Objects in the Smith Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at the Linköping Museum, Sweden, Uppsala 1971, 34 ff.

¹² Privat: unpublishiert, cf. Aubert, op.cit., 228.

¹³ Cf. ibidem und J. C. Goyon, op.cit. Auch J.-F. Aubert, Les statuettes funéraires de la collection Omar Pacha, CdE 51, 1976, 61, Nr. 276. Weiter Daninos Pacha, Collection d'antiquités égyptiennes de Tigrane Pacha d'Abro, 1911, Nr 122–124; Figuren kamen auch bei den Versteigerungen Amherst (1921) und Maxwell (1928) vor. Ein unpublishiertes Stück in Brooklyn (37.136E) zitiere ich wie die eben erwähnten

Angaben nach Prof. Dr H. de Meulenaere.

¹⁴ Das Schiffsdeterminativ sollte dreimal hier vorkommen wie auf Parallelfiguren.

¹⁵ B. Porter – R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings III, Oxford 1931, 175.

¹⁶ A. Barsanti, Le tombeau de Hikaoumsaf, ASAE 5, 1904, 69 f.

¹⁷ J.-C. Goyon, op.cit.; G. Björkman, op.cit., Boreas 6, 1974, 69 ff.



Sakkara

12. *psmtk*

MME 1969:75, grüne Fayence, H. 19,5 cm.

Aus seinem Grab in Sakkara. 26–27. Dynastie. Unter Amasis bis Kambyzes oder etwas später¹.

Parallelen: Antwerpen², Baltimore³, Berlin⁴, Kairo⁵, Kopenhagen⁶, Florenz⁷, Genf⁸, London⁹, München¹⁰, Rio de Janeiro¹¹, Strassburg¹², mehrere privat und im Kunsthandel¹³.

Dieser Mann 𓂏𓂛𓂏 , von 𓂏𓂛𓂏 , *mr(.t)-n.t.*, geboren, ist bei der königlichen Verwaltung als 𓂏𓂛𓂏 , Vorsteher der königlichen Proviantsschreiber, tätig gewesen. Sein Grab in Sakkara wurde 1860 von A. Mariette untersucht¹⁴. Die Datierung ist etwas unsicher, sollte aber in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 6. Jahrhunderts liegen¹⁵.

Die Figuren dieses Mannes gehören stilistisch zu

den besseren aus Sakkara. Sie sind nicht fern von denen aus Neferibresaneiths Grab (oben Nr. 10). Es gibt jedoch eine Neigung, das Gesicht realistischer wiederzugeben – die Haut folgt dem Knochengerüst, besonders bei den Augen und bei der Nase. Dies gibt dem Gesicht etwas Individuelles. Die Schärfe und Stringenz, die für Neferibresaneith kennzeichnend sind, fehlen hier. Diese Figuren sind milder im Charakter; dies ist aber auch durch etwas niedrigere Qualität der Arbeit bedingt. Obwohl die Figuren nah mit dem Sakkara-Typus verwandt sind, ist die hier gegebene Identifizierung nur hypothetisch. Prof. Dr H. de Meulenaere hat auf gleichnamige bzw. gleichbetitelte Personen, deren Kanopen in Abydos gefunden worden sind, hingewiesen.¹⁶

¹ Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 240.

² Oudheidkundige Musea Vleeshuis: C. de Wit, *Stad Antwerpen. Oudheidkundige Musea Vleeshuis. Catalogus VIII. Egypte*, Antwerpen 1959, 52 f.

³ Walters Art Gallery: G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1946, Nr. 730.

⁴ Cf. Aubert, *op.cit.*, 240.

⁵ Ägyptisches Museum: P.E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, CGC, Kairo 1930–1957, Nr. 47590.

⁶ Nationalmuseum: M. Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague*, Kopenhagen 1918, 74.

⁷ Cf. Aubert, *op.cit.*, 240.

⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, 240.

⁹ University College: Fl. Petrie, *Shabtis*, London 1935, Taf. 22; Victoria & Albert Museum: cf. Aubert, *op.cit.*, 240.

¹⁰ Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst: Katalog, 2. Aufl., München 1976, 159.

¹¹ Cf. Aubert, *op.cit.*, 240.

¹² Cf. *ibidem*, 240.

¹³ Lyon, Paris, London, cf. *ibidem*, 240; Paris: Drouot-Rive Gauche, Salle 4, 20 oct. 1976, Katalog Nr. 132.

¹⁴ B. Porter – R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, III, Oxford 1931, 178.

¹⁵ Cf. Aubert, *op.cit.*, 240; H. de Meulenaere, *Trois personages saïtes*, CdE 31, 1956, 253, Anm. 6; J. Yoyotte, *Pétoubastis III*, RdE 24, 1972, 216 ff.

¹⁶ G. A. Reisner, *Canopics*, CGC, Kairo 1967, Nr 4126-29 und 4308-10.



Sakkara










13. *psmtk-s3 -n.t*

a. NME 121, blaugrüne Fayence, H. 16 cm, vor 1868 erworben¹.

b. NME 131, blaugrüne Fayence, H. 16 cm, vor 1868 erworben¹.

Mutmasslich aus Sakkara. 26. Dynastie, unter Amasis 570–526 v.Chr. oder etwas später².

Parallelen: Boston³, verschiedene im Privatbesitz⁴.

Der Mann  *  Var.  *  und  *  war General, , Sohn eines Generals⁵ und der Mutter  Var. , *n.t-m-h3t*, deren Name auf den beiden Uschebtis beigefügt ist. Obwohl eine komplette Serie Kanopen desselben Mannes erhalten ist, ist seine Grabstätte unbekannt. Nach einer Angabe im Katalog der Sammlung Mimaut, aus welcher die

Kanopen im Jahre 1837 zum Louvre kamen, kann man aber sehr wahrscheinlich einen memphitischen Ursprung annehmen⁶. Dies ist auch in Anbetracht des Umstandes, dass viele Generäle und andere hochgestellte Personen des 6. Jahrhunderts ihre Gräber in Sakkara hatten, nicht unwahrscheinlich.

Die Figuren dieses Mannes weichen stark von der hohen Qualität anderer Sakkara-Figuren ab. Sie sind viel gröber und ohne die feine, oft stringente Modellierung, die sonst charakteristisch ist. Die Inschriften sind nachlässig gemacht, die Glasur ist ausserdem dick und uneben. Das Gesicht hat jedoch einen abgerundeten idealisierenden Charakter, der gemeinsam für die Sakkara-Tradition zu sein scheint.

¹ Früher publiziert bei S. V. Wängstedt, Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit, Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin 5, 1969, 22 ff., Nr. 6.

² Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, Statuettes égyptiennes, Paris 1974, 231.

³ Museum of Fine Arts: unpubliziert, cf. H. de Meulenaere, Le surnom égyptien à la basse époque, Leiden 1966, 33, Anm. 6.

⁴ Cf. Aubert, op. cit., 231; auch bei der Versteigerung MacGregor (1922), Nr 1349.

⁵ Ibidem, 231.

⁶ Mme Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt hat mir freundlicherweise den Auszug aus dem Verkaufskatalog 1837, von J. J. Dubois redigiert, zugestellt: „Albâtre oriental. Quatre vases funéraires dont les couvercles représentent les textes des génies de l'Amenti. Ces vases d'une hauteur et d'une beauté peu communes, ont été trouvés dans la sépulture d'un chef des archers attaché au service de l'un des rois d'Egypte qui portent le nom de Psammétichus (XXVIe dynastie saïte) Memphis.“





Mittelägypten: Herakleopolis

14. *ir.t-(n.t)-hr-ir-w*

a. MM 14701, gelbgrüne Fayence, H. 13,5 cm¹.

b. MM 14972, gelbgrüne Fayence, H. 13,5 cm¹.

Mit Herakleopolis verbunden². Vielleicht 26. Dynastie.

Es sind die Titel $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, Sohn, der liebt, (MM 14972), der von den Priestern des Herischef getragen wird, und $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, Beschützer seines Herrn in Herakleopolis³, (MM 14701), der eine Anknüpfung an den Namen der Stadt beinhaltet, die es möglich machen, diese Figuren in Verbindung mit Herakleopolis zu

setzen. Der Name ist auf beiden $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$. Sie gehören, obwohl die Lesung des Namens und eines Titels der Mutter sehr schwierig ist (MM 14701: $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (?); MM 14972: $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (?), vielleicht *ir.t-imn*) und obwohl die eine Figur dem Besitzernamen auch die Bezeichnung und den Namen $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, „sein Name ist *ps-wd(?)*“ (MM 14972) beigefügt trägt, offenbar zusammen. Stilistisch können sie als identisch betrachtet werden. Das fette viereckige Gesicht hat diffuse Details und ist qualitativ sehr mittelmässig.

¹ Früher publiziert bei S. V. Wängstedt, *Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 5, 1969, 22 ff., Nr. 12 und Nr. 13.

² Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 260 f.

³ Das *st nb* = f ist deutlich; *nb* scheint nicht ein missratenes *mr* zu sein.





Mittelägypten: Herakleopolis

15. *īr.t-(n.t)-hr-īr.w*

a. MM 10227, bräunliche Fayence, H. 20 cm.

b. MM 10228, bräunliche Fayence, H. 20,2 cm.

c. MM 14659, bräunliche Fayence, H. 20,5 cm
Mit Herakleopolis verbunden¹. 27. Dynastie oder
später.

Parallelen: Troyes², verschiedene im Kunsthandel³.

Der Name des Mannes ist auf allen drei
Figuren identisch geschrieben; der Name der Mutter
ist , *dd-h.t-hr-īw-s-ḥb*, nur auf MM 14659 noch
völlig bewahrt und leserlich. Der Titel des Besitzers
ist Var. , eine Schreibung, die für *s3-mr-f*

stehen muss, für den Priestertitel, der in Herakleopolis verwendet wurde.

Es gibt ein paar Figuren von einem Manne mit demselben Namen, Titel und Mutternamen. Eine einzige ist bei J.-F. und L. Aubert wiedergegeben⁴. Sie ist aber von einem anderen Typus als die drei Stockholmer Figuren, die mit einer vollständigen Version des 6. Totenbuchkapitels versehen sind. Jene ist einfacher mit der Inschrift in zwei Zeilen, waagrecht und senkrecht kombiniert. Es kann aber mit wenig Zweifel angenommen werden, dass alle demselben Mann gehört haben. Es gab öfter eine Aufteilung in dem-

Während die erwähnte einfachere Paralleelfigur sehr

³ Ibidem, 261.

¹ Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 260 f.

² Ibidem, 261.



16. *pʒ-dj-ħr-mħn*

MM 14971, grüne Fayence, H. 14 cm.

Unbekannter Ort in Mittelägypten. 26.–30. Dynastie.
Parallelen: Basel¹.

G. Daressy hat den Text zweier Kanopen in Kairo veröffentlicht², die demselben Besitzer wie dem der Stockholmer Figur gehörten, ꜥꜣꜛ꜓, Sohn der Frau ꜥꜣꜛ꜓ ꜥꜣꜛ꜓-ir.t-bin.³. Leider ist die Angabe der Herkunft der Kairener Kanopen nur „Mittelägypten“:

¹ Museum für Völkerkunde: Katalog der Sonderausstellung 1976/77: So lebten die alten Ägypter, Basel 1976, 41.

² G. Daressy, Deux canopes provenant de la Moyenne-Egypte, ASAE 17, 1917, 31f. Ein drittes Kanopengefäß

sie wurden in Mallawi gekauft. Aufgrund verschiedener Priestertitel auf den Kanopen könnte man den Mann vielleicht mit Meir oder Umgebung verbinden. Die Figur hat aber ein Interesse als Repräsentant eines Koine-Typus, der in Mittelägypten vorkommt, vgl. z.B. die herakleopolitanischen Figuren (oben Nr. 14 und 15). Hier ist das Schematisieren des Gesichts noch weiter gegangen, und es erscheint völlig stereotyp.

dieses Mannes, auch ohne Herkunftsangabe, cf. H. de Meulenaere, *Horus de Hebenou et son prophète. Religions en Egypte hellénistique et romaine*, Paris 1969, 21 ff.

³ Das letzte Zeichen hieratisch.



Oberägypten: Theben

17. *p3-dj-n.t*

Sammlung L. Diener, Stockholm, grüne Fayence, H. 13,5 cm¹.

Aus seinem Grab in Theben. 26. Dynastie, Apries-Amasis, 589–570 bzw. 570–526 v.Chr.

Parallelen: mehrere in Privatsammlungen².

Die Figur gehörte einem Mann 𓂏𓂛 , geboren von 𓂏𓂛 , *t3-dj-b3st.t*, der 𓂏𓂛 , Obergutsverwalter der Gottesverehrerin war. Er war bei der Verwaltung der bekannten Gottesgemahlin des Amun Anchnesneferibre tätig. Sein Grab ist in seinem Amtsort Theben angelegt und befindet sich im Assasif³. Details über ihn sind von J. L. Christophe, S. V. Wängstedt und B. Peterson zusammengestellt⁴.

Interessant ist die grosse Spannweite in der Ausführung von Padineiths Figuren. Eine in Frankreich⁵ ist in klassischer Tradition mit Anknüpfung an die Sakkara-Tradition ausgeführt, während andere einen ganz anderen gegen eine realistische Darstellung tendierenden Stil haben⁶. Wo sind die Figuren hergestellt? Ein Vorschlag von J.-F. und L. Aubert ist, dass sie im Delta gemacht und dann nach Theben geschickt sein könnten, in welcher Stadt übrigens sehr selten grössere Uschebtis aus der saitischen Zeit gefunden worden sind. Oder man könnte sich vielleicht Prototypen aus dem Norden denken, die in Theben nachgemacht wurden.

¹ Ehemals im Besitze von S. V. Wängstedt, publiziert von S. V. Wängstedt und B. Peterson, *Zwei Altertümer aus der Zeit der Anchnesneferibre*, *Orientalia Suecana* 12, 1964, 115 ff.

² F. Ll. Griffith, *A Tourist's Collection of Fifty Years Ago*, *JEA* 3, 1916, 196 und Taf. 34. Cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, Paris 1974, 233; Th. G. Appelboom, *Twee ushabti's uit de 26e Dynastie*, *Phoenix*, Leiden, 19, 1973, 275 f.; zuletzt 1977 zwei Figuren im Kunsthandel in London. Prof. Dr H. de Meulenaere erwähnt sieben unpublizierte

Stücke in Brooklyn sowie eins in Harrow School.

³ Unter Amasis angelegt, B. Porter – R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* I:1, Oxford 1960, 302.

⁴ J. L. Christophe, *Les trois derniers grands majordomes de la XXVIe dynastie*, *ASAE* 54, 1956, 83 ff.; S. V. Wängstedt und B. Peterson, *op.cit.*

⁵ Aubert, *op.cit.*, Taf. 61, Nr. 145.

⁶ *Ibidem*, Taf. 61, Nr. 146 und die Stockholmer Figur.



Unbekannter Ort

18. *wšh-ib-r*^c

a. NME 119, grüne Fayence, H. 16 cm (Füsse abgebrochen), vor 1868 erworben¹.

b. NME 191, blassgrüne Fayence, H. 20,7 cm (Füsse abgebrochen), vor 1868 erworben¹.

Wahrscheinlich aus dem Delta. 30. Dynastie, unter Nektanebos II., 360–343 v.Chr., oder etwas später.

Parallelen: ehem. Sammlung Alnwick Castle², Orléans³, Turin⁴, Paris⁵, Lyon⁶, Côme⁷ und weitere^{7a}.

Der General *ī*^g, dessen Eltern der General *h*^g, *hr-wd*^g, und *h*^g, *hwtj*, die beide auf NME 191

vorkommen (auf NME 119 nur die Mutter), waren, kann durch seine Titel datiert werden. Er ist nämlich auch von anderen Monumenten als den Uschebtis bekannt⁸. Er trägt viele Titel, auf NME 119 *h*^g *hwtj* *hwtj*, Gottesdiener bei Horus von Nechen, General, auf NME 191 *h*^g *hwtj* *hwtj* *hwtj* *hwtj*, Gottesdiener bei *hnp-ib-mr=f-w*^c, Gottesdiener bei ..., General. Es ist der zweitletzte Titel *h*^g *hwtj* *hwtj*, der mir leider nicht völlig verständlich ist, der ihn wahrscheinlich mit König Nektanebos II. in Verbindung setzen kann. Der Schluss kann *p*^g *blk* gelesen werden

und könnte sich auf das Epitheton des Königs als göttlicher Falke beziehen⁹.

Die beiden Figuren sind an Grösse und Ausführung unterschiedlich. NME 191 hat ein schön geformtes Gesicht mit abgerundeten Zügen und stringenten Details. NME 119 hat ein plumperes und nicht ganz symmetrisches Gesicht. NME 191 ist weniger stereotyp als NME 119. Es ist auch diese Figur NME 191, die für die Herstellungsweise der Zeit als typisch

aufgefasst werden kann; hier können wir im Vergleich der beiden Figuren sehen, wieviel die Qualität der Arbeit bedeutet für das Hervortreten eines prägnanten Zeitstils. Eine Parallelfigur im Louvre wird als mit Hieroglyphen versehen beschrieben, die „*incrusted de pâte bleue*“ sind¹⁰. Dies war auch mit NME 191 der Fall, dessen Hieroglyphen Spuren von Inkrustation tragen, die jedoch beim Brennen misslungen ist.

¹ Früher publiziert bei S. V. Wängstedt, Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit, Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin 5, 1969, 22 ff., Nr. 3 bzw. 2.

² S. Birch, Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle, London 1880, 257 ff.

³ A. Baillet, Notice sur la collection égyptienne de M. l'abbé Desnoyers, in A. Baillet, Oeuvres diverses, 2, Paris 1905, 11 ff.

⁴ Museo Egizio: A. Fabretti, E. Rossi, R. V. Lanzone, Regio Museo di Torino I, Torino 1882, 379.



⁵ Louvre: unpubliziert, cf. J.-F. & L. Aubert, Statuettes égyptiennes, Paris 1974, 250. Weiter im Kunsthandel 1976: Drouot-Rive Gauche, Salle 4, Oct. 1976, Katalognr. 134.

⁶ Privat: unpubliziert, cf. Aubert, op.cit. 250.

⁷ Cf. ibidem, 250.

⁸ Prof. Dr H. de Meulenaere erwähnt zwei Stücke in Marseille und eins in Brooklyn (08.480.9). Auch eins bei der

Versteigerung MacGregor (1922), Nr 1347.

⁹ Cf. H. de Meulenaere, Les monuments du culte des rois Nectanébo, CdE 35, 1960, 92 ff. Ein Sphinx in Wien, der wahrscheinlich aus der jetzt unbekannten Grabstätte des Mannes stammt, ist von E. Komorzynski publiziert: Ein Sphinx als Wächter eines Privatgrabes, AFO 17, 1954–1955, 137 ff. Es ist Komorzynski nicht gelungen, den Titel „General“ zu lesen. Was er mit  wiedergibt, soll  gelesen werden. Die Richtigkeit dieser Lesung ist freundlicherweise von Dr Helmut Satzinger bestätigt, der das Original überprüft hat.

¹⁰ J. Yoyotte, Nectanébo II comme faucon divin?, Kémi 15, 1959, 70 ff. Auch H. de Meulenaere, op.cit. Prof. Dr H. de Meulenaere teilt mit: „Der fragliche Titel soll zweifellos 'Prophet des Necthorheb, des Falken' gelesen werden, wenn auch die Schreibung nicht ganz deutlich ist. Sonst könnte man den Zusatz 'der Falke' nicht erklären“.

¹¹ Aubert, op.cit., 251.





Unbekannter Ort

19. *ḥr-ḥb*

a. NME 145, blaugrüne Fayence, H. 14,5 cm, vor 1868 erworben¹.

b. NME 151, blaugrüne Fayence, H. 14,5 cm, vor 1868 erworben¹.

Unbekannter Ort. 26. Dynastie oder später.

Parallelen: keine.

Der Name des Mannes *ḥr-ḥb* ist in der Spätzeit geläufig.² Die Mutter hiess *ḥt-ḥwtj*. Der Mann ist wahrscheinlich mit dem Inhaber von vier Kanopen

¹ Früher publiziert bei S. V. Wängstedt, *Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 5, 1969, 22 ff., Nr. 10.

– leider unbekannter Herkunft – in Kairo identisch.³

Die beiden Figuren, die demselben Manne gehören, sind ziemlich unterschiedlich. NME 145 hat ein viel runderes Gesicht und wenig Prägnanz in der Darstellung der Details. Das schmalere und in der Wiedergabe weniger diffuse Gesicht der Figur NME 151 ist klarer und strikter. Im allgemeinen Typus stehen beide Figuren – NME 145 aber besonders – den herakleopolitanischen Figuren (vgl. oben Nr. 14 und 15) nahe.

² Zur Lesung cf. H. de Meulenaere, *Le clergé abydnien d'Osiris*, *OLP* 6/7, 1975/76, (FS Vergote), 146.

³ Cf. G. A. Reisner, *Canopics*, *CGC*, Kairo 1967, 4141-44. Für den Hinweis danke ich Prof. Dr H. de Meulenaere.



Unbekannter Ort

20. *t3-(n.t)-nfr-hr*

MM 14703, türkisblaue Fayence, H. 14,5 cm¹.

Laut Händlerangabe (Kairo 1931) aus dem Fayum. 26.

Dynastie oder später.

Parallelen: Basel².

¹ Früher publiziert bei S. V. Wängstedt, *Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin 5, 1969, 22 ff., Nr. 7.

² Münzen und Medaillen, Auktion 49, 27. Juni 1974, Ägyptische Kunst, Nr. 98.

Dies ist eins von den wenigen grösseren Uschebtis aus der Spätzeit, das für eine Frau hergestellt ist. Ihr Name ist *ḥ.t-hr-m-šyt*, von *ḥ.t-hr-m-šyt*, geboren. Der Stil ist elegant und strikt. Die Gesichtszüge sind klar.

Cf. auch H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I*, Glückstadt 1935, 361:3. Die dort erwähnte Figur in Budapest gehört einer anderen Person; dies hat mir freundlicherweise Dr. Edith Varga mitgeteilt.



Unbekannter Ort

21. *w3h-ib-r-m-šyt*

MM 1959:3 (=MM 18046), grüne Fayence, H. 16,7 cm¹.

Unbekannter Ort. 26. Dynastie oder später.

Parallelen: Zagreb², Liège³, Leningrad⁴, Genf⁵, London⁶, Kopenhagen⁷, ehem. Nürnberg⁸, Turin⁹.

Der Mann ist *ḥ.t-hr-m-šyt*, von der Hausfrau *s-dj*, geboren¹⁰. Das Gesicht ist schmal und hat spitzige Züge, besonders Mund und Nase. Ohne grössere Qualität ist dieser ziemlich realistische Typus nicht weit von einigen Mendes-Figuren entfernt.

¹ Früher publiziert bei S. V. Wängstedt, *Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin 5, 1969, 22 ff., Nr. 4.

² Archäologisches Museum: J. Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, Paris 1970, 148.

³ Musée Curtius: M. Malaise, *Antiquités égyptiennes et verres du Proche-Orient ancien des Musées Curtius et du Verre*

à Liège, Liège 1971, 72 f.

⁴ Ermitage Imperial, *Inventaire de la collection égyptienne*, Sankt Petersburg 1891, 121.

⁵ Musée d'art et d'histoire: Ch. Maystre, *Egypte antique. Guides illustrés 9*, Genève 1963, 19.

⁶ University College: Fl. Petrie, *Shabtis*, London 1935, Taf. 23.

⁷ Nationalmuseum: M. Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague*, Kopenhagen 1918, 74.

⁸ Privat: W. M. Müller, *Aus kleinen Sammlungen*, Rec. Trav. 29, 1907, 142 f.

⁹ Museo Egizio: Nr 2693, cf. A. Fabretti, E. Rossi, R. V. Lanzone, *Regio Museo di Torino I*, Torino 1882, 379.

¹⁰ Prof. H. de Meulenaere hält diesen Mann für identisch mit dem Inhaber eines Sarkophages in Leiden, Nr 1383, und der Stockholmer Kanopen NME 98-101; der Name der Mutter ist – falls identisch – jedoch in beiden Fällen ganz anders geschrieben.

Index der Personennamen

Hinweise zu den obigen Nummern

<i>ir.t-îmn</i>	14	<i>nsw-b3st.t</i>	8
<i>ir.t-(n.t)-hr-ir.w</i>	14, 15	<i>n.t-m-h3.t</i>	13
<i>‘nh-ḥk3</i>	2	<i>hn-3t(.j)</i>	3
<i>w3ḥ-ib-r*</i>	18	<i>hr-wd3</i>	6, 18
<i>w3ḥ-ib-r*-m-3ḥt</i>	21	<i>hr-ḥb</i>	19
<i>w3dj.t-m-ḥ3.t</i>	6	<i>ḥk3-m-s3.f</i>	11
<i>p3-wd3</i>	14	<i>ht.hr-m-3ḥt</i>	20
<i>p3-šrī-(n-)t3-ih̄t</i>	8	<i>ḥwj(.wj)-psmtk</i>	4
<i>p3-dj-b3st.t</i>	8	<i>s-dj</i>	21
<i>p3-dj-n.t</i>	17	<i>st3-ir.t-bin.t</i>	16
<i>p3-dj-hr-mḥn</i>	16	<i>šp-n-b3st.t</i>	10
<i>p3-dj-sm3-t3.wj</i>	5	<i>šnt</i>	7
<i>psmtk, (König)</i>	1	<i>t3jw</i>	3
<i>psmtk</i>	12	<i>t3-(n.t)-nfr-hr</i>	20
<i>psmtk-s3-n.t</i>	13	<i>t3-ḥwtj</i>	18, 19
<i>mr(t)-n.t</i>	12	<i>t3-dj-b3st.t</i>	17
<i>nb(.t)-dnḥ-hr-ih̄s</i>	2	<i>t3-dbh(.t)-(n.t)-n.t</i>	4
<i>nfr-ib-r*-s3-n.t</i>	10	<i>d3tj</i>	9
<i>ns-b3-nb-dd(.t)</i>	7	<i>dd-ht.hr-iw-s-‘nh̄</i>	15

Eine löwenköpfige Nilpferdgöttin in Stockholm

Beate George

In der Stockholmer Sammlung ägyptischer Altertümer befindet sich die aus einer Privatsammlung erworbene 8 cm hohe Statuette einer Nilpferdgöttin aus olivgrün und schwarz glasierter Fayence (Inv.nr. MME 1969: 584). Die sehr sorgfältig ausgeführte stehende Figur ist aus Elementen dreier Tiere und menschlichen Zügen zusammengesetzt. Der Kopf mit geschlossenem Maul und Mähnenkranz ist der eines Löwen. Das linke Ohr ist an der Spitze leicht beschädigt. Eine lange dreiteilige, schwarz glasierte Perücke bedeckt den Kopf und fällt weit auf Brust und Rücken hinab. Auf ihr hat sich ein heute verlorener Gegenstand befunden, nach einer Parallele in Kairo¹ könnte man an einen Uräus denken; für einen runden Untersatz mit zwei hohen Federn, Sonnenscheibe und Hörnerpaar – vgl. z.B. CGC 39 147 – sind die Bruchspuren nicht gross genug. Im Rücken ruht die Perücke auf einem flechtbandartigen mit einem erhöhten Mittelgrat versehenen Gebilde auf, das als Wiedergabe eines Krokodilschweifes² angesehen zu werden pflegt. In einigen Darstellungen, wie z.B. in astronomischen Decken des Neuen Reiches und der Spätzeit³ und einer Kalksteinstatuette des Louvre⁴, trägt die Nilpferdgöttin, die in diesen Fällen allerdings immer mit einem Nilferdkopf wiedergegeben ist, sogar ein ganzes Krokodil auf dem Rücken.

Der Körper der Göttin ist wie üblich gestaltet: die weibliche Brust hängt schlaff herab, der Leib mit einem durch einen kleinen Kreis angedeuteten Nabel ist geschwollen, die Arme sind ebenfalls menschlich gebildet, enden aber in Löwentatzen. Der rechte leicht angewinkelt herabhängende Arm ist oben an der Rückseite und an der Tatze beschädigt, der linke am Ellbogen und Unterarm und an der Tatze. Auf dieser hält die Göttin ein schönes deutliches *wd3.t-Auge*. Die Hinterbeine – das linke ist vorangestellt – sind oberhalb vom Knie abgebrochen; wie üblich endeten sie

sicher in Löwentatzen.

Herkunft und Alter der Stockholmer Figur sind unbekannt. Wie Bonnet⁵ bemerkt, ist erst in „später Zeit“ der Löwenkopf deutlich ausgebildet. Aufgrund der Feinheit der Ausführung der Statuette ist wohl eine Datierung in die Saitendynastie oder darauffolgende Epochen bis zur Ptolemäerzeit am wahrscheinlichsten.

Das Nilpferd hat in Ägypten im Alltag wie auch im Kult eine wichtige Rolle gespielt. Zwei Traditionen lassen sich klar unterscheiden: die Betrachtung des männlichen Tieres als böse, gefährlich und sethisch⁶, des weiblichen hingegen als einer hilfreichen Beschützerin ihrer Verehrer, gleichzeitig und doppelseitig jedoch als Vernichterin und Abwehlerin feindlicher Mächte. Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass diese Differenzierung, die die ägyptischen religiösen Dokumente widerspiegeln, auf genauer Naturbeobachtung beruhen dürfte⁷: männliche Nilpferde verhalten sich sehr kriegerisch gegeneinander, weibliche sind im allgemeinen friedlich, jedoch bei der Verteidigung ihrer Jungen, die sie leicht gebären und sorgfältig beschützen, sehr gefährlich.

Für Kulte und Funktionen der Nilpferdgöttin bzw. -göttinnen gibt es viele Zeugnisse aus allen Epochen. Ihre Namen⁸ sind zahlreich und verschiedenartig. *Jpj* (Pyr. 381, WB I 68.8), später *Jp.t* (WB I 68,7–10) ist wohl der älteste. In Pyr. 381 bittet der Tote darum, von der Mutter *Jpj* gesäugt zu werden⁹. Im Neuen Reich und in noch späterer Zeit sind die Texte, die Nilpferdgöttinnen erwähnen, besonders zahlreich. Es kommen die Benennungen *rr.t*-Sau im Mittleren und vor allem im Neuen Reich vor¹⁰, in griechischer Zeit auch *rr.t*-Amme (WB II 439.8). Seit dem NR ist ausserdem *wr.t*-die Grosse gebräuchlich, von dem sich die gräzisierte Form Thooris/ Thueris herleitet. *Dw3.t*, *šps.t*, *wsr.t*-Ehrwürdige, Herrliche bzw. Mächtige – sind



ebenfalls ptolemäisch belegt. Alle diese Bezeichnungen haben mehr Epitheta- und Umschreibungs- als richtigen Namenscharakter.

Diese verschiedenen Benennungen lassen sich nicht eindeutig zu den verschiedenen Gestalten der Göttin in Beziehung setzen¹¹. Denn vielfältig wie die Namen sind auch Erscheinungsweisen und Attribute der Gottheit und damit auch ihre Aspekte und Funktionen. An ihr wie an anderen ägyptischen Göttern wird die synkretistische Tendenz offenbar, in einer Gottheit alle Phänomene zu umgreifen, indem man mehrere Götter zu einer variierenden mischgestaltigen Ganzheit verbindet und damit den Polytheismus zugleich bestätigt und erhöht.

Die geläufigste Darstellung gibt die Nilpferdgöttin mit einem Nilpferdkopf wieder¹². Dies kommt seit der Prähistorie auf Amuletten vor, im Alten Reich ausserdem auf Toilettengerät, im Mittleren Reich auf den Zaubermessern, im Neuen Reich auf Möbeln, aber auch im Totenbuch und in Tempelreliefs sowie als rundplastische Figuren. Seltener, manchmal nicht sicher zu identifizierende Wiedergaben zeigen sie mit einem Krokodilkopf¹³, einem Schweinekopf¹⁴ bzw. einem Mittelding von beiden. Einmal trägt eine Darstellung mit Krokodilkopf die Beischrift *sbk.t* – weiblicher Sobek¹⁵. Zweimal ist die Göttin mit einem Geierkopf versehen und mit dem Namen der Königsschlange *hknwt.t* bezeichnet¹⁶ bzw. wird „Preisende (?) am Haupte des Allherrn“ genannt¹⁷, beides Anspielungen auf das Diadem. Einigemal ist sie mit einem gehörnten Kuhkopf wiedergegeben¹⁸. In anderen Fällen befindet sich ein menschlicher Kopf auf dem Nilpferdkörper¹⁹. Auch die umgekehrte Kombination Frauenkörper mit Nilpferdkopf kommt als Statuette vor (CGC 39 195). Sie kann weiterhin ganz menschengestaltig mit Kuhgehörn und Sonnenscheibe dargestellt und *Jp.t wr.t* genannt werden²⁰. Andere Sonderformen sind ein pfeilerartiger Torso mit Nilpferdkopf und ein Pfeiler mit dem Hathorgesicht darauf, beide im Opettempel in Karnak, der das wichtigste Monument für den Kult der Nilpferdgöttin ist²¹. Auf einem Relief der 19. Dynastie aus Silsile heisst sie *t3 wr.t hrj jb p3 mw w^cb jmj nwn hnwt ntr.w* – Thokeris, die sich im reinen Wasser befindet, das im Nun ist, Herrin der Götter²². Sie ist hier mit einem Menschenkopf, mit langer bändergeschmückter Perücke, Uräus, Kuhgehörn und Sonnenscheibe wiedergegeben und mit einem langen durchsichtigen Gewand bekleidet. Ein Lebenszeichen hält sie in einer Tatze. Auf einer ptolemäischen Stele ist laut Inschrift die

Göttin mit Nilpferdkörper und Menschenkopf Isis, die Übel abwehrt²³, und dieselbe Gestalt, aber mit Nilpferdkopf, die den jungen Horus im Papyrusdickicht beschützt, wird im Opettempel Isis genannt²⁴. Auf der Metternichstele schliesslich kommt ein nilpferdgestaltiges Wesen vor, das mit zwei Köpfen, einem Menschen- und einem Nilpferd(?)kopf versehen ist²⁵.

Mit einem Löwenkopf gibt es rundplastische Darstellungen der Nilpferdgöttin²⁶ und auch Reliefs, z.B. Szenen der Geburt des Horus aus ptolemäischer Zeit in Erment²⁷, die ihn im Papyrusdickicht umgeben von verschiedenen Schutzgottheiten zeigen. Die Nilpferdgöttin wird *rr.t*, Zerstörerin (*htm*) und Löwin genannt, ihre Attribute sind zwei Messer, ein Wedel und die *s3*-Schleife. Im ptolemäischen Sanktuar in Hatschepsuts Tempel in Deir el bahri wird sie *jr.t tm* – Auge Atums genannt und als Fällerin der Feinde bezeichnet²⁸. Hier befindet sich das Schutzamulett *s3* unter einer Tatze. Ausser den schon erwähnten Attributen kommen auch noch das Lebenszeichen und Fackeln vor. Die Göttin ist weiterhin auch schlangenverschlingend dargestellt²⁹. Verschiedene löwenköpfige Nilpferdgöttinnen als Jahresgottheiten erscheinen auf den Architraven der Vorhalle des Mammisi auf Philae³⁰: Foto 465: mit einem *s3* und der Beischrift „die Leuchtende, die aus dem heiligen Auge hervorkam, die alle guten Jahre eröffnet für Harpokrates, den sehr grossen Ersten des Osiris“. Foto 464: ebenfalls mit *s3*, „die sich auf ihrem Vater niederlässt (als Uräus)“. Foto 467: mit einem Uräus auf dem Löwenhaupt, einem *s3*-Amulett und der Beischrift *qs.t t3.wj* (cf. WB V 609,1). Auf demselben Foto ist eine weitere löwenköpfige Nilpferdgöttin mit einer Atefkrone und *s3* abgebildet „die sich über den Sohn freut“.

Die hier für die löwenköpfige Nilpferdgöttin angeführten Text- und Bildzeugnisse scheinen am ehesten auf eine Verbindung mit Tefnut hinzudeuten. Tefnut, die Tochter Atums, wird als sein feuriges Sonnenauge, als feuerspeiender Uräus und als wilde Löwin erlebt. Sie könnte die kämpferische, Feinde abwehrende Komponente im Wesen der Nilpferdgöttin verdeutlichen.

Ob in dem Löwenkopf möglicherweise ein Hinweis auf Sachmet zu sehen ist – dokumentierte Statuetten sind im Gebiet von Memphis gefunden worden³¹ – ist ebenfalls erwägenswert. Auch Sachmet erscheint ja ebenso wie Tefnut als Uräus und Sonnenauge und ist als Löwin in vor allem ihrem vernichtenden Wirken gut bekannt³². Schliesslich ist die Ähnlichkeit in Ikonographie wie auch Funktion zwischen der Nilpferdgöttin

und der Fresserin des Totengerichtes sehr auffallend. Beide sind aus Elementen der drei gleichen Tiere zusammengesetzt, und beide können den Toten verschlingen, sei es um ihn endgültig zu vernichten, wie im Falle der Fresserin, oder um ihn zu erneuern, wie im Falle der Nilpferdgöttin³³.

Die Beziehung zu den Jahren, d.h. dem ständig sich erneuernden Zyklus von Werden und Vergehen, wie sie z.B. deutlich in Thoeiris' Rolle als Sternbild³⁴ zum Ausdruck kommt, und die Funktionen als Schützerin, ja Gebälerin des Horus in den Mammisi sowie

als Mutter des ständig zu neuem Leben zu erweckenden Osiris im Opettempel sind Ausdruck des schöpferischen, Leben und Schutz spendenden Wesens der Göttin. Diese Eigenschaften hat sie mit vielen Göttinnen gemeinsam, und Verbindungen mit Nut, Isis, Sothis, Hathor, Meschenet, Renenet³⁵ sind wohl bekannt. Auch ist ihre Rolle keineswegs auf die Götterwelt beschränkt, sondern in Analogie zum Geschehen dort und in seinem Nachvollzug hofften die Ägypter auf ihre Hilfe sowohl bei der Geburt in diese Welt als auch bei der Neugeburt im Jenseits.

¹ G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, OGC, Le Caire 1906, 39198, pl. LV.

² Z. B. H. Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens I*, o.O. 1965, 43.

³ O. Neugebauer-R. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts I*, London 1960, pl. 24; III, London 1969, p. 52 fig. 13; p. 65 fig. 15; p. 183 ff, 189 ff.

⁴ J. Vandier, *Nouvelles acquisitions*, La revue du Louvre 21, Paris 1971, 99 f und fig. 10.

⁵ H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, 533.

⁶ T. Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*, Uppsala 1953, passim.

⁷ M. Verner, *Statue of Twëret* (Cairo Museum no. 39145), *ZÄS* 96, 1969, 53.

⁸ Vgl. Bonnet, *ibidem*.

⁹ Dazu passen das Berliner Figürchen 19791, das mit Milch gefüllt werden konnte: L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahu-re^c I*, Leipzig 1910, 130, fig. 177 und G. Möller, *Miszellen*, *ZÄS* 54, 1918, 139 sowie drei weitere im Louvre: W. Darby-P. Ghalioungui-L. Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris II*, London 1977, fig. 19,3 u.p. 764: vielleicht für Wasser.

¹⁰ Altenmüller, *op.cit.*, 148: seit MR. WB II 438,9–10: seit NR.

¹¹ Dies bemerkt schon Bonnet, *op.cit.*, 533.

¹² Für Belege siehe *ibidem*, 530.

¹³ *ibidem*, 532. F. Daumas, *Les mammisi de Dendera II*, Le Caire 1959, pl. XCV A und B.

¹⁴ Bonnet, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig 1924, Nr. 41. A. Scharff, *Götter Ägyptens*, Berlin 1923, 24 und Taf. 24b: „Mittelding zwischen Krokodil- und Schweinskopf“.

¹⁵ Daressy, *Quelques inscriptions provenant de Bubastis*, *ASAE* 11, 1911, 190.

¹⁶ E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari V*, London 1904–05, pl. 149.

¹⁷ H. Junker–E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philae*, Wien 1965, 208–209, Foto 466.

¹⁸ *ibidem*, Foto 916. Daumas, *op.cit.*, pl. LXI A no. 20 und B no. 17.

¹⁹ Daressy, *Statues*, 39197, pl. LV. Im Opettempel: LD IV 30 c. In Philae: Junker–Winter, *op.cit.*, 206–207, Foto 464; 208–209, Foto 466; 210–211, Foto 463 (westlicher Architrav). Angemerkt sei auch der Hinweis von A. Donadoni-Roveri auf eine Turiner Nilpferdstatue mit Frauenkopf, der Königin Teje gleicht: *First International Congress of Egyptology. Abstracts of Papers*, München 1976, 26. Einzigartig ist eine Statuette Harpokrates–Nilpferdgottheit aus Antiochia, interpretiert von V. Vikentiev in P. Bobrovsky, *Collection of Antiquities purchased in Syria und Egypt*, Paris o. J., 13 ff und Taf. I–III.

²⁰ LD IV 30 d: Opettempel.

²¹ Ausser C. de Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet à Karnak I–III*, Bruxelles 1958–1968, auch A. Varille, *La grande porte du temple d'Apet à Karnak*, *ASAE* 53, 1953, 79 ff und H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, Leipzig 1941, 355 ff. Andere Tempel existierten in Oxyrhynchos und im Fajjum.

²² LD III 175 c.

²³ B. Bruyère, *Un ex-voto d'Isis-Toëris au musée d'Ismailia*, *ASAE* 50, 1950, 515 ff, fig. 1.

²⁴ de Wit, *Opet III* 76.

²⁵ F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique III*, Paris 1925, pl. XXX.

²⁶ Daressy, *Statues*, 39 198–39 203, pl. LV. Schon auf der Rückseite eines Granitthrones der 13. Dynastie ist die Nilpferdgöttin mit Löwenkopf zweimal im Profil eingraviert und als Beschützerin gekennzeichnet: *British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae & c., in the British*

Museum, Part V, London 1914, pl. 12.

²⁷ LD IV 65.

²⁸ Naville, op.cit., pl. 150.

²⁹ Bonnet, Reallexikon, 531 mit Belegen.

³⁰ Junker-Winter, op.cit., 206 ff.

³¹ J. D. Cooney, Glass, Catalogue BM IV, London 1976, 37, no. 334.

³² Bei S.-E. Hoenes, Untersuchungen zu Wesen und Kult der Göttin Sachmet, Bonn 1976 kommt eine Verbindung Sachmet-Thoeris nicht vor.

³³ Vgl. auch C. Seeber, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten, München-Berlin 1976, 175 ff.

³⁴ Vgl. Anm. 3.

³⁵ Verbindungen mit Nut: de Wit, Opet, passim; J. Bergman, Isis auf der Sau, Boreas 6, 1974, 92 ff. Mit Isis: de Wit, Opet,

passim; Vandier, Une statuette de Touéris, La revue du Louvre 12, Paris 1962, 197 ff. Mit Isis und Sothis: Neugebauer-Parker, op.cit. III 190 f. Besondere Verbindung mit dem Himmel drücken aus: de Wit, Une statuette de Thouéris au musée d'Aberdeen, Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica (FS Vergote) 6/7, 1975/76, 205 ff und Verner, op.cit., ZÄS 96, 1969, 52 ff. Mit Hathor: TB 186; B. J. Peterson, Ägyptische Stelen und Stelenfragmente in Stockholmer Sammlungen, Opuscula Atheniensia IX, 1969, 102; A. Gutbub, Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo, Le Caire 1973, 329. Mit Meschenet: Daressy, Thouéris et Meskenit, Rec. Trav. 34, 1912, 189 ff; H. de Meulenaere, Anthroponymes égyptiens de Basse Époque, CdE 38, 1963, 217 ff; de Wit, Opet III 41 f; Gutbub, op.cit., 328. Mit Renenet: de Wit, ibidem; Gutbub, 327.

Appendix

Folgende Statuetten der Nilpferdgöttin, alle mit Nilpferdkopf, befinden sich in der ägyptischen Abteilung des Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm:



MM 10156: Stehende Göttin auf Basisplatte, die vorne etwas abgeschlagen ist, Öse im Rücken. Keine Attribute. Schwarzbrauner Steatit, Höhe 2,3 cm.



MM 10204: Stehende Göttin auf Basis, Öse im Rücken, keine Attribute. Unbeschädigt. Türkise Fayence, Höhe 4,6 cm. Etwas grobe Arbeit.



MM 13918: Fragment, das nur den Kopf bis zum unteren Abschluss der Perücke zeigt. Die beschädigte Krone besteht aus einem runden Untersatz mit Hörnerpaar und Sonnenscheibe darauf, an deren Rückseite eine grosse Öse angebracht ist. Grüne Fayence, Höhe 3 cm.



MM 13919: Stehende Göttin auf Basis. Durchbohrung statt Öse, obwohl eine Erhöhung unter der Perücke vorhanden ist. Keine Attribute. Unbeschädigt. Hellgrüne Fayence, Höhe 3,2 cm. Grob, der Kopf ist fast affenartig gebildet.



MM 30296: Stehende Göttin auf Basis, im Profil wiedergegeben. Eine winzige Öse aus grauer Fayence befindet sich auf dem Kopf, sonst rote Fayence. Keine Attribute. Unbeschädigt. Höhe 1,8 cm. Das Figürchen stammt wahrscheinlich aus Amarna, vgl. Fl. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, London 1894, pl. XVII no. 299 und p. 29; idem, *Amulets*, London 1914, pl. XL no. 236 g und p. 47.

MM 30304: Stehende Göttin auf Basis, im Profil wiedergegeben. Auf der Sonnenscheibe auf dem Kopfe befindet sich eine winzige Öse. Die Attribute sind ein Messer und ein st-Amulett. Unbeschädigt. Türkise Fayence. Höhe 2,3 cm. Wohl aus Amarna, vgl. die Literatur zu MM 30296.

MM 30646: Stehende Göttin im Profil. Die winzige Öse auf dem Kopf ist abgebrochen. Türkise Fayence. Höhe 1,1 cm. Sehr undeutliche Arbeit. Das Figürchen stammt aus Sesebi und gehört in die 18. Dynastie. Es ist publiziert B. J. Peterson, *Archäologische Funde aus Sesebi (Sudla) in Nord-Sudan*, *Orientalia Suecana XVI* (1967), Uppsala 1968, 9f. und Fig. 17.



MM 30487: Auf einer Basis stehende Göttin mit Durchbohrung in der Erhöhung im Rücken. Keine Attribute. Unbeschädigt. Grüne Fayence. Höhe 1,7 cm. Sehr summarisch.

MME 1961:103: Stehendes Figürchen auf Basis. Durchbohrung. Keine Attribute. Unbeschädigt. Türkise Fayence. Höhe 2 cm. Sehr summarische Wiedergabe.



MM 30489: wie MM 30487, Höhe 1,8 cm. Noch undeutlicher gearbeitet.

MME 1961:104: Stehende Göttin, deren Beine abgeschlagen sind. Auch eine Vordertatze ist leicht beschädigt. Durchbohrung, obwohl eine Erhöhung im Rücken vorhanden ist. Grüne Fayence, Höhe 2,7 cm. Grob.



MME 1969:585: Stehende Göttin auf Basis, ohne Attribute. Die Öse unterhalb der Perücke ist abgeschlagen. Beschädigungen an beiden Vordertatzen, der Basisplatte und dem rechten Hinterbein. Hellgrüne Fayence. Höhe 6,2 cm.



MME 1969:588: Stehende Göttin auf Basis. Die Öse im Rücken ist aufgeschlagen; sonst unbeschädigt. Keine Attribute. Grüne Fayence. Höhe 2,4 cm.



MME 1969:586: Stehende Göttin auf einer Basis, die hinten abgebrochen ist. Auch die rechte Vordertatze ist beschädigt. Öse im Nacken. Keine Attribute. Hellgrüne Fayence. Höhe 5,5 cm. Vorzügliche Arbeit.



MME 1975:62: Stehende Göttin, deren Beine abgebrochen sind. Öse unterhalb der Perücke. Keine Attribute. Türkisgrüne Fayence. Höhe 4,3 cm. Sehr schöne Arbeit.



MME 1969:587: Stehende Göttin auf einer Platte, die hinten abgebrochen und rundherum bestossen ist. Keine Öse; eine Unregelmässigkeit auf dem Kopf deutet auf einen verschwundenen Kopfschmuck oder eine Öse dort. Die Arme sind oberhalb der Ellbogen abgebrochen. Hellgrüne Fayence. Höhe 2,8 cm.



MME 1975:63: Stehende Göttin auf Basisplatte. Öse im Rücken. Keine Attribute. Unbeschädigt bis auf eine Bestossung an der linken Vordertatze. Hellgrüne Fayence. Höhe 4 cm. Sehr schöne Arbeit.

Ein Mumienporträt im Medelhavsmuseet

Beate George

Das Mumienporträt eines Jungen Mannes, Inventarnummer MME 1977:5, gehörte früher der Königlichen Wissenschaftsakademie, die es aus der Sammlung von Professor Gustaf Retzius¹ erhalten hatte. Die Masse der Holztafel sind 32,8 × 18,5 cm bei einer Dicke von 0,8 cm. Ein Sprung geht der Länge nach durch das ganze Brett, das sich nach oben verjüngt und zwei abgeschrägte Ecken hat. Die Bemalung ist stellenweise stark beschädigt und abgeblättert, was jedoch nicht die Wirkung des Gesichtes beeinträchtigt. Wiedergegeben ist auf grauem Hintergrund das leicht nach links gewandte Bildnis eines jungen Mannes, der nicht näher zu identifizieren ist. Er ist in eine weisse Tunika mit schmaler rotbrauner Halseinfassung und purpurnen Streifen gekleidet, die ein durch weisse Punkte angedeutetes Webmuster tragen. Das schwarze Haar – der Haaransatz über der Stirn ist rotbraun konturiert – ist kraus gelockt, auch die Augenbrauen sind schwarz in

flachem Bogen wiedergegeben. Die grossen ausdrucksvollen dunklen Augen mit Glanzlichtern sind ein wenig schematisch mit Wimpern versehen und rotbraun umrandet, eine rotbraune Linie markiert auch die Vertiefung zwischen Augapfel und Augenhöhle. Das hellrosa-beige getönte Gesicht ist glatt und jugendlich und zu den rotbraunen Konturen hin dunkler schattiert. Der Nasenrücken ist durch Glanzlichter markiert. Der Mund mit stark geschwungener Oberlippe, die durch eine dunkle Trennungslinie von der breiteren Unterlippe abgesetzt ist, ist blassrötlich. Eine halbmondförmige Linie deutet das Kinn an.

Derartige Bildnisse sind in Ägypten besonders in den 80er Jahren des 19. und zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts von Sakkara bis Assuan, vor allem aber im Fajjum und in Antinoopolis gefunden worden². Heute sind über 750 Exemplare bekannt. Diese Gruppe sehr lebendiger und oft modern anmutender Wiedergaben



von Männern, Frauen und Kindern ist das einzige erhaltene Zeugnis antiker Tafelmalerei und die wichtigste Quelle für unsere Kenntnis der antiken Porträtmalerei. Nach Stil, Mode – Haar- und Barttracht, Schmuck, Kleidung – und Technik sind sie hellenistisch, ihrer Funktion nach jedoch altägyptisch. Sie werden in die römische Kaiserzeit von der 1. Hälfte des 1. bis ins 4. Jahrhundert n.Chr. datiert. Dem Stockholmer Porträt vergleichbar sind zwei Knabenbildnisse, eins aus der Sammlung Graf³ und ein weiteres aus Hawara im British Museum⁴, dann auch der Artemidorus im British Museum⁵ sowie die Grafischen Bilder 47 und 69⁶. Alle stammen aus dem 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr., in das auch das Stockholmer Porträt gehören dürfte.

In der Maltechnik lassen sich drei verschiedene Arten unterscheiden⁷: die Bilder können mit Tempera gemalt sein, d.h. einer Mischung von Farbstoff, Ei und Wasser, wobei eine matte stumpfe Oberfläche entsteht. Sie können mit Wachsfarben gemalt sein, wobei Bienenwachs mit pulverisierter Farbe und etwas Olivenöl oder Harz vermischt wird; um Enkaustik, d.h. ein Einbrennen der aufgetragenen Farben mit einem erhitzten Gegenstand, wie diese Technik in der Literatur oft genannt wird, handelt es sich streng genommen nicht. Schliesslich kommt noch ein Wachs-temperaverfahren vor, bei dem den Wachsfarben Ei zugesetzt wird. Diese beiden letzten Techniken resultieren in einer glänzenden Oberfläche. Bei allen drei Malweisen konnten die Farben direkt auf das Holz

aufgetragen werden. Häufiger aber malte man auf eine Stuckschicht, auf die man erst eine schwarze oder rote Skizze entwarf, die man dann mit Farbe ausfüllte. Im Falle des Stockholmer Porträts, das eine Stuckschicht aufweist, sind die rotbraunen Umrisslinien deutlich zu erkennen. Der Glanz der Farben spricht für eine Malweise, bei der Wachs verwendet wurde.

Während Stil, Mode und Technik der Bildnisse mit der hellenistischen Kultur ins Land gekommen sind, ist ihre Funktion ganz ägyptisch. In Ägypten lebt die Sitte der Mumifizierung bis in die römische Kaiserzeit fort und wird zusammen mit Götterglauben und Totenkult auch von im Lande ausässigen Ausländern übernommen. In die Mumienbinden, die den ganzen Körper umschliessen, fügte man über dem Kopfe eine Holztabelle mit dem Bildnis des Verstorbenen ein. Immer schon war nach ägyptischer Anschauung der Erhaltung des Kopfes für Weiterleben und Identität des Toten besondere Bedeutung beigemessen worden, was sich von den Ersatzköpfen des Alten Reiches über Mumienmasken bis hin zu den Mumienporträts verfolgen lässt. Erst in diesen Tafelbildnissen der römischen Kaiserzeit wird jedoch die Individualität der dargestellten Person zum Ausdruck gebracht. Gleichzeitig weist aber die gesamte Gruppe eine starke Ähnlichkeit in sich auf, die vielleicht vor allem in dem intensiven Blick der über-grossen Augen, die – selbst ganz transparent – ihr Gegenüber durchschauen und einbeziehen, begründet sein mag.

¹ Retzius kaufte es wahrscheinlich auf seiner Ägyptenreise 1890–91, cf. idem, *Bilder från Nilens land*, Stockholm 1891; vgl. auch den Hinweis bei K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, Wiesbaden 1966, 219 Nr. 26. Das Porträt ist 1976 im Nationalmuseum, Stockholm konserviert worden.

² Das wichtigste Werk, in dem frühere Literatur zitiert und verarbeitet ist, ist Parlasca, op.cit., dazu desselben dreibändig geplantes Kompendium in A. Adrianis *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, von dem der erste Band – Serie B, volume I, Palermo 1969 – bereits erschienen ist.

³ Abgebildet bei P. Buberl, *Die griechisch-ägyptischen*

Mumienbildnisse der Sammlung Th. Graf, Wien 1922, Taf. 4: Graf Nr. 19, heute in Ostberlin.

⁴ Abgebildet z.B. bei A. F. Shore, *Portrait Painting from Roman Egypt*, London 1962, pl. 20 = Repertorio Nr. 47.

⁵ Shore, op.cit. pl. 1 und 19 = Repertorio Nr. 162.

⁶ Buberl, op.cit., Taf. 29: Graf Nr. 47, heute im Nationalmuseum Kopenhagen = Repertorio Nr. 162. Buberl, Taf. 21: Graf Nr. 69, heute in Wien.

⁷ Zur Technik vgl. Shore, op.cit., 20 ff und A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4. Aufl. London 1962, 351 ff.



A Minoan Vase in Stockholm

Peter Warren

The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities owns a single Minoan vase. The piece is virtually complete, a fine specimen of Minoan ceramic craft of the prepalatial epoch. I publish it here through the courtesy of the Museum's Director, Dr Carl-Gustaf Styrenius.¹

The pot (accession no. MM 1966:8) is an almost globular jar with a raised collar, open spout with short tubular section on the shoulder, vertical, thickish strap handle opposite the spout and three small, stumpy feet, pointing slightly outwards to increase stability. The clay is grey at the core, firing to orange buff, fairly hard, with white grits. The surface has a coating of fine orange buff clay which is fairly well burnished all over the exterior. Decoration is a thick arc across each shoulder between spout and handle, the arc outlined by three thin bands on one shoulder, two on the other. There are two horizontal bands round the belly, a band round the tubular section of the spout and two small ones across the underside of the spout. The paint is dark brown to black, rather dull. The pot is complete save the slightly chipped handle and worn surface in one or two places. Height: 12.8 cms, diameter c. 13.5 cms, external diameter of collar 8.4 cms.²

While our piece is a typical Minoan shape, the spouted jar or 'teapot', handmade³ and thus belonging to the period before the fast wheel wares of Middle Minoan I B and later, a closer dating is not suggestible without some discussion. Reasonably close parallels for the vase are very few in number and offer no chronological precision.

A spouted jar from the Pyrgos burial cave⁴ is about the same size, has the raised collar, vertical handle (plus two others) and stands on three small feet. But the spout is tubular, cut off horizontally and not

widened into a regular lip like ours.⁵ The pottery accompanying the Pyrgos burials is Early Minoan I and II. The decoration on the jar consists of a band of multiple crossing diagonal lines:



This suggests an EM I date since this design is common as a band in EM I pattern burnish⁶ and on red on buff painted wares from the EM I level of Lebena tomb II.⁷ (The design continues to be used not as a band but over the whole surface, often carelessly, in EM II A.)⁸ Thus while the Pyrgos jar recalls ours in some respects, especially in its collar and feet, it has a more angular profile, a different spout and decoration.

Altogether closer is a spouted jar from the cemetery of Mochlos, M 67.⁹ It has a distinct collar, a little wider in proportion than ours, and stands on three small feet. The spout and handle are slightly smaller in proportion to the body than those of our piece. Decoration (dark paint on the buff ground) consists of a wide diagonal band across the shoulder with (apparently, in the tiny scale of the published photograph) a zigzag motif within it and a flanking line on each side of the band. Most unfortunately this jar was found without associations. Less close is a jar from Mochlos tomb XVI, no. 9.¹⁰ It has a side spout, vertical handle and collar, but it stands on a flat base without feet. The scroll pattern on its shoulder places it in MM I A.¹¹ Tomb XVI had few pots, one (XVI 8) being classical EM III white on black, while the many fine stone vessels suggest the tomb began to be used within EM II.

A few other jars with short side spouts may be compared to ours in only one or two points of detail. One from Lebena tomb I stands on three feet, one from

Mochlos has groups of diagonal bands or arcs, two from that site are almost as close as M 67, but like it were found without associations and have flat bases without feet, and one without feet from the Trapeza cave in Lasithi has diagonal bands across the shoulder in EM III white on black.¹²

Thus the closest vessel, Mochlos M 67, is undated and the others range from EM I to MM I. We must therefore attend to details of the Stockholm vase rather than to the piece as a whole, in order to suggest closer

dating. While the spout and body shapes could fall anywhere within EM II (see note 5) to MM I¹³ two features of the pot are characteristic of EM II. These are the light burnishing or polishing of a buff (orange buff, yellowy buff, ivory colour) surface and the predilection for three small feet.

Such burnishing is found in EM II A and EM II B at Myrtos¹⁴ and on EM II A settlement pottery at Knossos.¹⁵ An EM II open bowl from Lebena tomb II has a similarly burnished buff surface.¹⁶ In EM III and



MM I dark painted surfaces are common on fine wares and the buff surfaced vessels appear usually to be unburnished.¹⁷

Vases with three small feet on a rounded base are found in EM I¹⁸ and the first part of EM II,¹⁹ giving stability to the base. The EM II A Koumasa jugs (see note 19) on little feet represent the end of the round bottomed tradition. But before the end of EM I flat bases with feet appear among the fine wares²⁰ and are much commoner in EM II A,²¹ the feet being retained as a decorative feature in the form of small triangular

pellets or small low stumps. The jar in Stockholm has a flat base and does not need feet. In this respect it could thus be as early as EM I, but since the flat base and decorative feet are at more home in EM II A it is more likely to be of that date. With this the burnished buff surface is in agreement. Does anything argue against an EM II, perhaps EM II A date?

The decoration alone remains for comment. It can be said at once that the curving band or arc right across a free field on each shoulder appears to have no exact parallel. Now such a system would, I think, be entirely



out of character in EM I. Ceramic artists in that period used essentially rectilinear patterns and had not yet begun to explore the possibilities of decorating a free field with one or more individual, floating motifs. Certainly nothing at all comparable to the Stockholm design exists among the numerous decorated vases of EM I date from the Kyparissi cave at Kanli Kastelli,²² Lebena or Pyrgos. Our pattern must belong within EM II to MM I A but is in form too simple to be ascribed to a particular phase within those long periods. It must be noted only that while diagonal patterns on the shoulders of vases are often found in MM I²³ this decorative idea in fact begins as early as EM II A, notably in the form of diagonal bands of triangles or chevrons, flanked by diagonal lines, on jugs.²⁴ Thus we are not required to date our pot to MM I A on account of its decoration.

We conclude therefore that with its fully formed side spout (above p. 48 and note 5) the Stockholm jar is no earlier than EM II and that with its buff burnished surface and three small feet the vessel was probably potted and decorated in EM II (c. 2600–2200 B. C.), very possibly in the first part, EM II A.

Since the jar is virtually complete it is likely to have come from a tomb,²⁵ probably in southern Crete, where many were robbed in the 1960s.²⁶ But the discovery of many varieties of spouted jar in use in the EM II settlements of Vasilike and Myrtos indicates that this form was made for daily use, for pouring liquids like wine or oil which needed a controlled, not too rapid flow. In several rooms at Myrtos their users had left behind vessels of this type in association with pithoi, tubs and other large containers.²⁷ In one case a spouted jar was in a room with a larger jar, pithos and tub. The actual contents of the larger jar were partially preserved, carbonized grape pips, probably from wine making or using.²⁸ Clearly the long spouted jar was in vinic use with the others in the room. The Stockholm vessel may have enjoyed some similar employment before, in all likelihood, it was placed within a circular communal tomb to be of symbolic use to the spirit of its departing owner.

Special abbreviations:

AAA – *Athens Annals of Archaeology*

AD – *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*

Mochlos – R. Seager, *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos* (1912)

Myrtos – P. Warren, *Myrtos. An Early Bronze Age Settlement in Crete* (British School at Athens Supplementary Volume 7) (1972)

VTM – St. Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara* (1924).

Zoes – A. Zoes, "Ερευνα περί τῆς μινωϊκῆς κεραμικῆς, Ἐπετηρίς Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν 1 (1967–8) 703–32.

¹ I was able to examine the vessel on 26 April 1974, during a visit to Sweden to give a lecture and seminars. For the photographs I am most grateful to Dr Styrenius and the staff of the Medelhavsmuseet. This publication is offered as an inadequate thank you to my friends and colleagues in Stockholm and Uppsala for their many kindnesses on that occasion.

² For details of description and for the measurements I am indebted to Miss Marie-Louise Winbladh.

³ Before MM I B Minoan pots were made on hand-turned disks (without a spindle for rapid rotation), such as were found in the EM II A potter's workshop at Myrtos. See Warren, *Antiquity* 43 (1969) 224–7 & pl. XXXVI. *Myrtos* 18–20, 213–5, fig. 98 & pl. 75.

⁴ Xanthoudides, *AD* 4 (1918) 148 & fig. 5 no. 6. Zervos, *L'art de la Crète* (1956) pl. 89 right.

⁵ With only one possible exception the properly formed side spout emerging from a tubular section (such as ours) does not seem to have been produced before EM II. The possible exception is Herakleion Museum 15607 (unpublished), an open bowl with vertical handle and side spout from Lebena tomb II (EM I–II level). It is closely parallel to an early EM II A vessel from Koumasa (VTM pl. XXVI b 4118, dark hatched decoration on buff). But the Lebena vase is decorated with a broad band of hatching in pattern burnish. It should therefore be EM I (during which cross hatching in pattern burnish is not uncommon). But the close parallelism in shape and decorative pattern between it and the Koumasa bowl is notable and suggests that the Lebena piece might date from the end of EM I or even instance a single use of pattern burnish at the beginning of EM II (the date of the Koumasa group). The absence of EM I parallels for the fully formed side spout supports an initial EM II date.

⁶ Xanthoudides, *AD* 4 (1918) pl. B' (Pyrgos). Pyxides from the EM I level of Lebena tomb II also have this decoration in pattern burnish.

⁷ Alexiou, *Illustrated London News* 6 August 1960, 227 fig. 20 upper row right and left, lower row right. Many other vases from this level have the same motif.

⁸ *Myrtos*, pl. 30D; 31C. At least three careful patterns appear to evolve from the crossing diagonal lines: already

in EM I we find multiple diagonals crossing as Xs (Alexiou, *op.cit.* fig. 20 top row right and Herakleion Museum 15362, Lebena EM I cup) and in EM II A (VTM pl. XXVI b 4147, Koumasa); in EM II A, hatched triangles or lozenges covering large areas of the surface of a vase (VTM pl. XXVI b (Koumasa); Zoes, pls. 13–19 (Koumasa); Zervos, *L'art de la Crète* pl. 91 (Pyrgos); Warren, *AAA* 5 (1972) 394 fig. 4 (Knossos)); again in EM II A, bands of neat hatched triangles (Seager in Boyd Hawes, *Gournia* (1908) pl. XII 20 (Vasilike) = Zoes, pl. 29; Evans, *Palace of Minos I* (1921) fig. 40 top row centre (Knossos); Warren, *AAA* 5 (1972) 395 fig. 6 (Knossos); *Myrtos* 104 & pls. 30 A, 30 C, 31 B, 32 C–D).

⁹ *Mochlos* 84 & fig. 49, no. M 67.

¹⁰ *Mochlos* 67 & fig. 37, XVI 9.

¹¹ Cf. *Mochlos* 61 (XI 16). H. W. and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *BSA* 30 (1928–30) pl. XIV 15 (Knossos).

¹² Lebena: Daux, *BCH* 83 (1959) 743 fig. 13 lower row 2nd from left, tubular spout, three feet, dark wash, EM II–MM I. *Mochlos*: *Mochlos* 64 & figs. 32–3, no. XIII h, on wide flat base (moulded), with groups of diagonal bands or arcs all round, an MM I A pattern (*Mochlos* 64); *Mochlos* 84 & fig. 37 nos. M 69 and M 71, fairly close to ours, with diagonal bands on shoulder, but no feet, long tubular section of spout and found without context. Trapeza: H. W. and J. D. S. Pendlebury and M. B. Money-Coutts, *BSA* 36 (1935–6) 44–5 & fig. 10 & pl. 8, no. 207.

¹³ The very long spouts of EM II Vasilike Ware spouted jars are often thought to have been replaced by short spouts in EM III–MM I. It is more correct to observe that every length of spout from very short to very long exists already in EM II (VTM pl. XXVI b. *Myrtos* figs. 85–90), while by MM I short open spouts with a short or longish tubular section joining spout to body have become regular (for example on the Paterikies teapots, Levi, *Annuario* 35–36 (1957–8) 350–1 figs. 209 A–B). Thus with the EM II evidence the short spout of the Stockholm vase does not demand an MM I date.

¹⁴ EM II A: *Myrtos* 99 (P 11), 105 (P 54) and pls. 31 A (below, right) and 31 B. EM II B: *Myrtos* 114 and pl. 39 E, 132 and pl. 51 C, 149 and pl. 62 B.

¹⁵ Warren, *AAA* 5 (1972) 395 fig. 6.

¹⁶ Herakleion Museum 15690 (unpublished). Similarly bur-

nished are HM 15642–3, plain, flaring, open bowls with horizontal handles, also probably EM II. The former is illustrated in Daux, *BCH* 83 (1959) 743 fig. 13 lower row 3rd from right.

¹⁷ *Mochlos* 64 & figs. 33–4, XIII h, is however described as polished.

¹⁸ Xanthoudides, *AD* 4 (1918) 145 fig. 6 no. 15 (many pyxides of this shape from the EM I level of Lebena tomb II, including Daux, *BCH* 84 (1960) 842 fig. 3 top row left and right), nos. 23–4, fig. 7 no. 40 (several EM I examples at Lebena). Alexiou, *Kretika Khronika* E' (1951) 278–9 & pl. II' 2 no. 2. ¹⁹ VTM pl. XXVI b lower row; Zoes, pls. 15–7 (Koumasa), 26 (Pyrgos).

²⁰ Xanthoudides, *AD* 4 (1918) 148 & fig. 5 no. 6. See note 4. Herakleion Museum 15390, an open bowl with all over cross-hatched pattern burnish, flat base on three small, triangular feet (Lebena tomb II).

²¹ Tzedhakis and Warren, *AAA* 5 (1972) 68 & figs. 5–6 (Debla); Warren, *AAA* 5 (1972) 395 (several examples from Knossos 1972 Royal Road excavations, EM II A levels); J. D. Evans, *Anatolian Studies* 22 (1972) 120–1 figs. 6 and 8 (Knossos).

²² Alexiou, *Kretika Khronika* E' (1951) 277–82 & pls. II'–IΔ'.

²³ Mackenzie, *JHS* 26 (1906) pl. X nos. 2, 5, 7, 15. Hatzidhakis, *AD* 4 (1918) pl. 3 (Gournes) nos. 12, 16, 18–9. *Mochlos* 64 & figs. 33–4, XIII h. H. W. and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *BSA* 30 (1928–30) pl. XII a 13, b 10.

²⁴ J. D. Evans, *Anatolian Studies* 22 (1972) 122 fig. 9 (Knossos, EM II A house below West Court). A jug with the same pattern comes from contemporary EM II A levels beside the Royal Road at Knossos (1972 excavations, RR/S/72/P 393). *Myrtos* pl. 36 A (EM II A). *Mochlos* 20, no. 1 b, & figs. 4 and 13 (= Zoes, pl. 31 A) may certainly be dated likewise, given the hatched triangles (see above, note 8).

²⁵ The Medelhavsmuseet has no record of its provenance.

²⁶ Sakellarakis, *AD* 20 (1965) B' 562–3. Alexiou, *AD* 22 (1967) B' 482–4 (especially 484); 23 (1968) B' 403. Davaras, *AD* 23 (1968) B' 405–6.

²⁷ *Myrtos* 56 'fig. 21 (Room 60, P 661), 74 (Room 80, P 666, P 684), 77 & fig. 27 (Room 82, five examples), 85 (Shrine Store 91, five small to medium sized examples), 87 & fig. 28 (Shrine, P 669).

²⁸ *Myrtos* 84 (Room 90, P 654) and (J. M. Renfrew) 315–6.

An Etruscan Black-figured Amphora of the Ivy-leaf Group

Charlotte Scheffer

Anyone used to the formal elegance and technical precision of Attic black figure may find its Etruscan equivalent sadly inferior. To some extent this comparison is an unfair one. Viewed from another angle the Etruscan vases usually have a spontaneity and liveliness often lacking in their more sophisticated but also more stereotyped Attic parent. The vase to be discussed here (MM 1964:19) may in some ways be considered a good example. It may be technically bad, but the animals on it are drawn with a sure hand and a good eye for the essential differences. The proportions are certainly most unnatural, but the pictures are of individual animals, while Attic representations would very probably be reduced to pretty formulas.

Our vase is a belly or panel amphora of Beazley's type B.¹ It has a flaring mouth with a well set-off concave lip. On top it is flat towards the outside, convex towards the inside. It has a strongly curved body, cylindrical handles that do not harmonize with the lines of the body, and a more or less echinus-shaped foot. The height varies between 38.7 and 39.0 cm, the diameter of the mouth is 16.8 and of the foot 15.0 cm. The vase is intact, but the surface is crackled, encrusted and chipped in places.

The greater part of the amphora is covered with a dull black glaze, very far from the black glossiness of Attic glaze. The colour of the vase tends towards dark or yellow brown, especially in the panels. The glaze is applied very unevenly, not always covering the background. Here again the pictures have suffered most. Marks made by the brush with which the glaze was laid on are obvious. A large red spot on one side and a careless thumb-print on one of the animals complete the picture of insufficient technical skill.

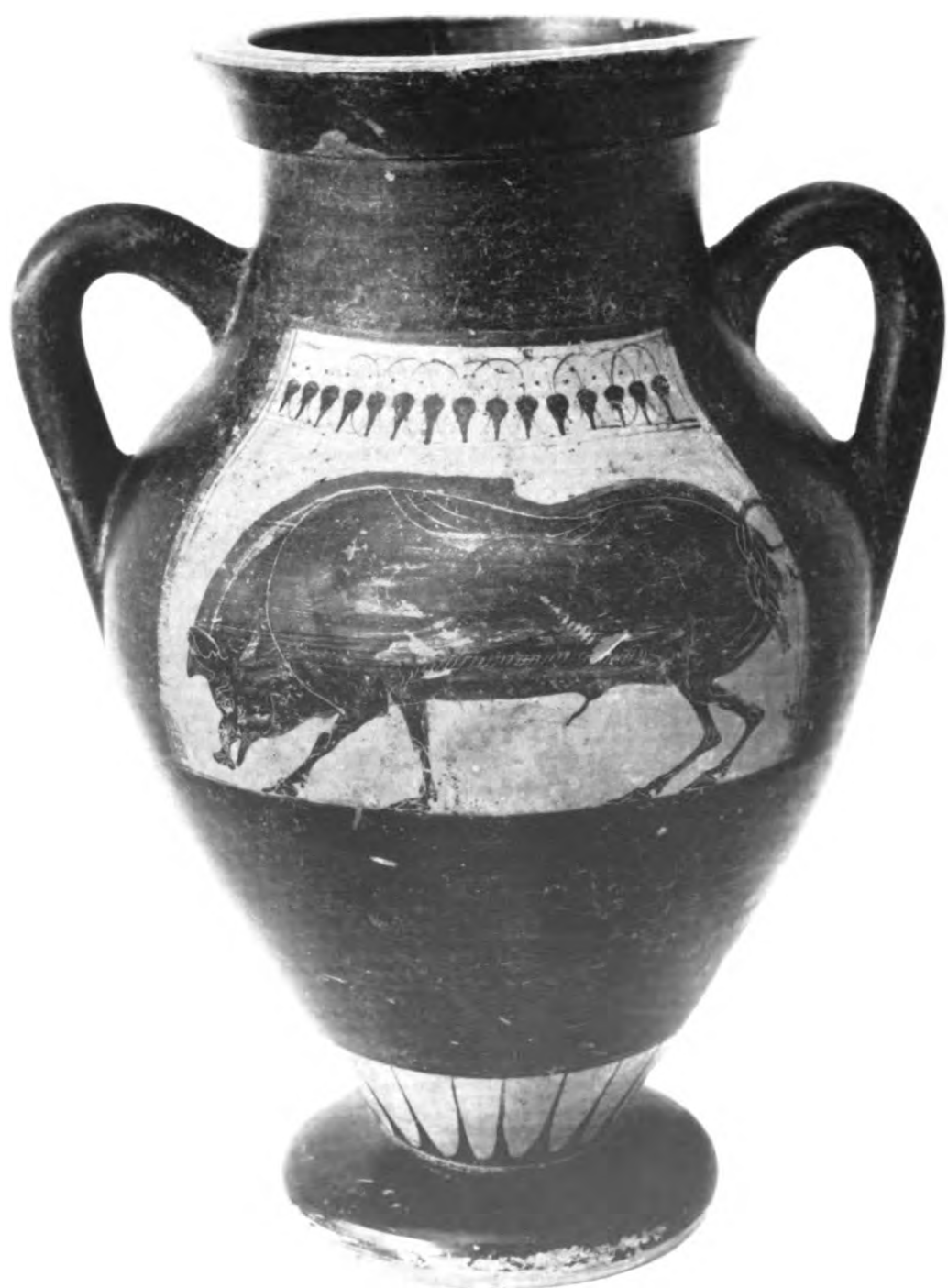
Black is, as has been said, the dominant colour of the vase. The underside and a 0.5 cm wide strip on the

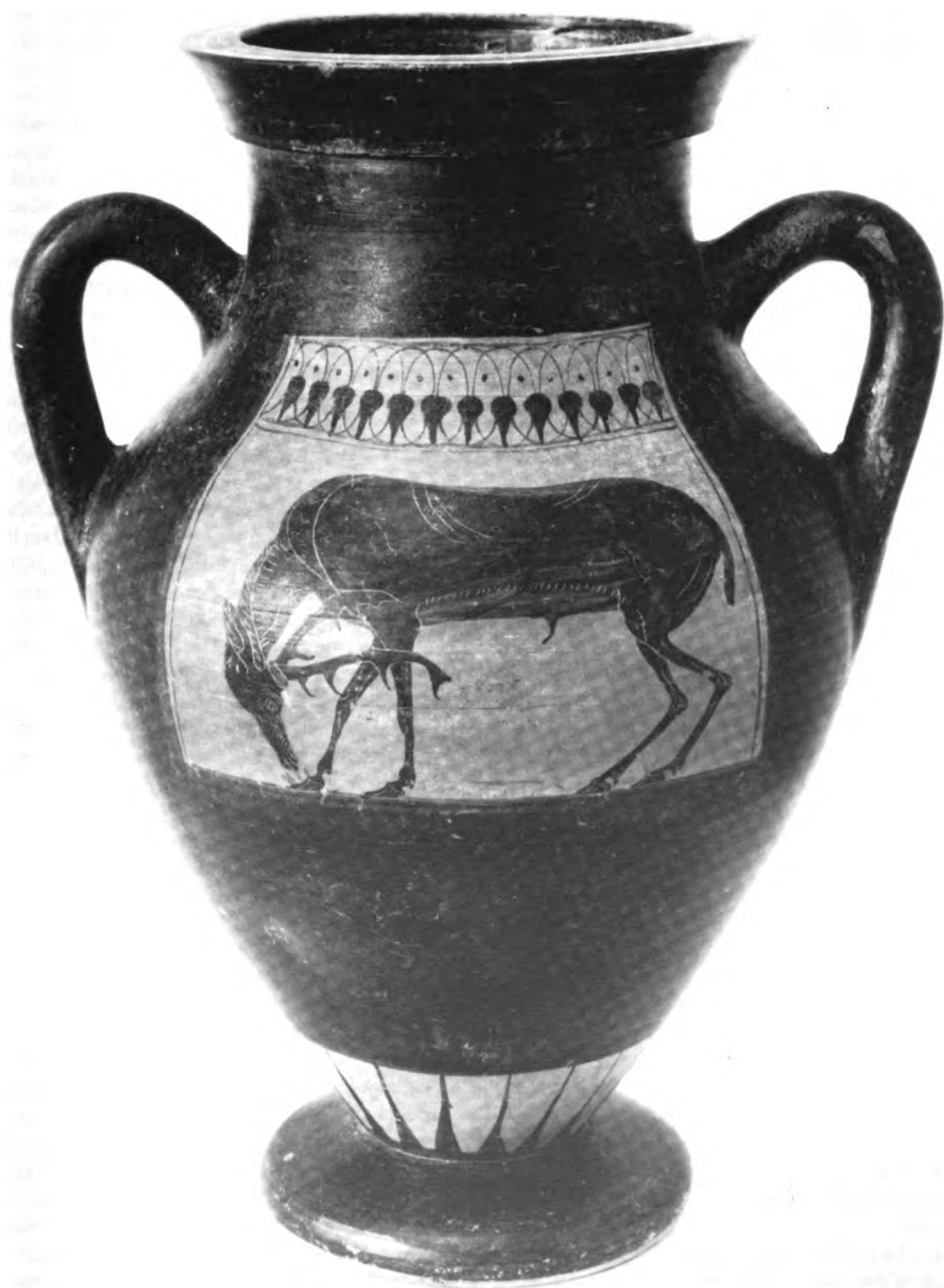
lowest part of the foot are left unpainted as is the inside of the vase except for a narrow band immediately below the top, measuring about 3 cm. Also left in the buff colour of the clay are the backgrounds for the customary rays rising from the foot and for the picture panels, one on each side. This simple but effective scheme of decoration seems very suitable for the belly amphora with its continuous profile. Its earliest exponents are probably the so-called horse-head amphorae, which made their first appearance in the years around 600 B. C.² They all have a horse's head in profile on either side. Other motifs, mostly animals or human heads, are also found, though more rarely.³ This tendency to simplify and thus to strengthen the motif is obvious also in the predilection of the contemporary Gorgon Painter for large single animals.⁴ This must have been the natural reaction against the overcrowded Corinthian vase painting with its interminable rows of walking animals. Our vase is in the same tradition with its large dominating motifs.

The two panels, one on either side, are trapezoidal in shape. They are framed by uneven thin lines of diluted glaze, sometimes laid over the black, and surmounted by hanging lotus buds with interlacing stems and dots in some of the interstices, between one glazed line above and two below.

In one of the panels a powerful boar is standing on short, thin legs turned to the left. It is snuffing the ground with lowered head; both front legs are straight, the left one moved forward to scuffle the ground, while the hind legs are bent. It has a broad head with a long striped snout, open mouth but strangely enough no tusks, an inquisitive round eye and a small fat ear. Hairs bristle all along its back, the tufted tail is curled contentedly. It has large flat feet.

In the panel on the other side, a graceful stag, turned





in the same direction, is shown bending its proud head to sniff a small tuft of grass growing by its right fore-foot. It has a long, narrow body. Like the boar, its front legs are straight, while the hind ones are bent. Straightened they would give the animal a decidedly lop-sided look. The head on its too long neck is rather awkwardly turned towards the fore-foot furthest away from us. It has a long sensitive nose, a round brightened eye, a long ear, warily turned back, unevenly branched horns and a short mane. It has a short bob tail.

The two animals have much in common. They have the same unshaped, rigid body with thin, badly proportioned legs and flat cloven hooves. The incised details are always skilfully executed and in many instances the same: the eye consisting of two nearly concentric circles with a short stroke at the inner corner, the double eyebrow, the round decisive line of the shoulder, the saddle-like marking on the back and the two curved lines on the hind quarter. Legs and feet show the same incised details. In both paintings the belly is defined by a line of short, parallel strokes. The same type of short stroke is used for one side of a triangular patch of hair under the chin of the boar and for a slightly curved line on the nose of the stag.

Red is difficult to distinguish from the often discoloured glaze. Undisputably red are, however, the outer half of the mane of the stag, the inner part of its ear and the crown from which the horns rise. On the boar the small triangle under the chin is red. Probably red—at least duller and different from the rest of the glaze—are the bellies of the two animals and the bristles along the back of the boar. No white seems to have been added.

The amphora belongs undoubtedly to the Ivy-leaf Group, one of the earliest groups of Etruscan black figure.⁵ The first few vases were assembled by Endt,⁶ who, however, did not recognize all the characteristics of the group. He was followed by several other scholars, adding more and more vases until, in 1937, a total of 38 vases were considered by Dohrn to belong in one way or another to the group.⁷ Since then some vases have been excluded from the group and reasonable doubt has been raised against others.⁸ On the other hand several new vases, nearly all belly amphorae, have been added to make the number more than even.⁹

The Ivy-leaf Group got its name from the motif on a large part of the vases. Small dancing figures, male or female, are shown tripping or rushing forward waving

large, oversized ivy leaves with long curling stems.¹⁰ These vases show many of the distinctive features of the group—a strong sense of decoration, a frequent Dionysian connection, in this case the ivy leaves and the dancing, and a definite fondness for imaginative motifs.

Associated with the group of ivy-leaf bearers are a number of vases where Dionysos himself is present with his following of maenads and silens, who surround his more sedate presence with ecstatic dancing and piping.¹¹ On three vases Hephaistos returns;¹² on one vase the god of wine is engaged in a quiet conversation with another god in the appropriate shadow of a vine.¹³ It is probably the same source of inspiration which accounts for another four vases, each with two large, expressive eyes on either side. On three of the vases there are two intertwined snakes between the eyes. The snakes are toothed, bearded and covered with white dots; they stare very angrily at each other. On two of these vases a dolphin is painted below the heads of the snakes; on the third, a hare.¹⁴ On the fourth vase a bull's head on one side and a goat's head on the other replace the snakes.¹⁵ A fifth vase, a stand of typically Etruscan shape, is also decorated with eyes and may probably be connected with the four vases above.¹⁶

The dolphins from two of the eyes-and-snakes vases appear on another vase,¹⁷ this time in more numerous company and indignantly swimming around an old bearded Triton, who carelessly holds one of their number by the tail together with a long tendril of ivy. He wears a garland of white dots round his neck; the same popular dots are found again on the lower fishy part of his body which seems to be buttoned on with a row of small, pearly beads. He, in his turn, must be related to the hippocampi, at least one of which is white-dotted, found on two other vases of the group.¹⁸

With the last three vases we have reached the large group of vases showing different kinds of animals, mostly fabulous beasts. Like most Etruscans, the painter of these vases (indeed many, not to say most, of them must be by the same hand) seems to have delighted in all the monstrous beings the fertile wit of Orientals and Greeks had provided. Both griffins and sphinxes occur.¹⁹ They are, however, very civilized and well-behaved monsters. Standing or sitting quietly, they lift up their right front paw like nicely trained dogs. The most fabulous of all mixed creatures, the chimaera, appears on a vase in Cambridge.²⁰ With eagerly lolling tongue and raised paw, she salutes we know not whom. It cannot be Bellerophon; a totally

unrelated scene with Dionysos is on the other side. If the lion head of the chimaera is friendly, the goat head is the more enraged and spits fire of diluted glaze.²¹ This head emerges from the wing in Etruscan fashion.²² The tail snake is clearly a smaller cousin of the angry snakes on the eyes-and-snakes vases.

Bellerophon is absent here, but he is on the other hand very probably to be identified with the young man on his flying horse, spear in hand, hound at his feet, found on three other vases, all with unrelated motifs on the other side.²³ The shape and ornamental decoration separates the chimaera vase from the ones with Bellerophon.²⁴ The excellent rendering of the mythological figures seems to point to a good prototype, but not necessarily to either exact knowledge of the story behind or to the absence of such information. Here as so often in Etruscan art the painter seems to have been much more interested in the decorative qualities of the figures than in what they were doing.²⁵

Men and horses, more ordinary ones this time, occur on other vases in different combinations, once in a slightly peculiar and perhaps not very happy way: frontally, in a scene depicting young men in animated conversation.²⁶ The particular interest in the equine family is shown also by the donkeys on the vases with the return of Hephaistos; perhaps centaurs should also be considered members of the same family.²⁷ On one vase a centaur, who must be Nessos, is pursued by Herakles while galloping away with a young woman, another motif that may indicate that the painter or painters of the group were conversant with Greek myths.

Another figure from the Greek myths, but, like Bellerophon, removed from its context, is a mild-looking ram carrying a man, a companion of Odysseus, tied under its belly.²⁸ The ram itself is ordinary enough except for its size and rather resembles the stags, bull and boars that graze quietly or are attacked by wild animals on other vases.²⁹ Once, on a dinos, several felines, among them one sphinx, are shown standing at attention with one paw raised.³⁰

Only two motifs remain to be mentioned, both unique so far within the group. One is a combat between two warriors in the presence of two youths, very close to those taking part in the riders' conversation mentioned above.³¹ The other is a prothesis on a one-handed cup in London.³² This vase looks slightly different, possibly due to the unusual subject matter.

The motifs on the vases can roughly be divided into two large groups. One shows human or semi-human

beings, the other is dominated by animals. Apart from a few scenes, the Nessos adventure and some scenes from daily life (?) like the single combat, the prothesis, the conversation between the mounted young men, the bulk of the motifs from the first group comes from the sphere of Dionysos. People are almost always shown in groups; animals appear now and then but on equal terms with the human participants.

In the second group of motifs the animals are, on the other hand, mainly depicted alone or in a closely related group of two animals fighting. Men, if they appear at all, seem to be more like accessories, as in the case of the small figure of Bellerophon, the man under the ram, even the proud men showing off their well-groomed horses. Unlike the "peopled" vases, those with animals are usually dominated by one large single figure.

The origin of the motif and the shape of the vase are naturally both of consequence here. A cup or an oinochoe needs a different scheme of decoration from a belly amphora, which invites simplification and concentration of the motif. It is also certainly easier to squeeze into the panel of an amphora several vertical human figures than more than one horizontal animal. In this context it is perhaps revealing that the only two more or less human figures appearing by themselves are winged, needing considerable space for their wings but also commanding special interest as creatures of the imagination.³³ However this may be, a painter presumably chooses the shape of vase and the motif and mode of decoration most congenial to him. It may not be too bold to suggest a rather particular and possibly very Etruscan interest in animals—especially the mythical varieties.

It seems also fairly certain that the painters of the group had a more than fleeting interest in the sphere of Dionysos. Beside the more conventional vases with the god of wine and his suite, this preference is demonstrated by the vases with large eyes, which are related in subject matter but not in form to the preceding type of motifs.³⁴ They display, however, a strong preference for a decorative and dominant motif which places them close to the second group.

The vases with eyes have the same motif repeated on both sides, but there is clearly no hesitation about depicting different kinds of scenes on the same vase. However, quite often the same kind is chosen. The painters seem to have been fond of repeating the same motif several times, though always with slight variations. Even the eyes-and-snakes vases, that seem to be

identical, show some differences—for instance in the way the snakes' tails are curled either upwards or downwards. The same applies to the vases with Bellerophon and those with sphinxes and griffins. We must not forget either the vases with maenads and silens or the dancing figures with ivy leaves; they all look rather alike but no one design is a direct copy of another.

The boar and stag in Stockholm are similar to those on a neck amphora in Tarquinia, but, though the animals resemble each other, there are certain differences; the boar in Tarquinia, like the one once in Stettin, is a lean, more long-legged creature, but it has the same general outline with the striped snout, the small red triangle under the chin and the bristles on the back.³⁵ The stag in Tarquinia stares downwards, is thinner and has longer legs, possibly due to the difference in size and shape of the fields on the two kinds of amphorae. All animals but the feline varieties have the same thin legs; all have the stiff, inarticulate body. Our stag is closest of all to the ram once in Munich and the horse in Florence with their straight wooden fore-legs and narrow bodies.³⁶ On the nose of the ram there is the same curved line of short, parallel strokes as on our stag. The same feature is found on the legs of many of the felines. The joints of the legs, the line of the shoulder, the two lines on the neck (only one visible on the bent neck of our stag), the saddle-like marking on the back and the two lines on the hind quarters are all traits that can be found on other vases in the group. One thing is so far unique—the belly marking of short, parallel strokes.³⁷

No other animal shows the rather daring but on the whole successful turn of the head which characterizes the stag's position.³⁸ The group was not afraid of experimenting, as is proved by the vase in Alingas with the frontal horses and dog. The amphora in Rancate shows two men fighting with spears. The man to the left maintains a position difficult even without an opponent. We see his left arm and the inside of the shield; he is thus shown facing us, but jabbing his spear to the rear. Similar arrangements—obviously devised to avoid the line of the spear crossing the body—are also found in Greek vase painting.

The most common shape is the belly amphora, the second most popular the oinochoe. Other shapes, represented by only one or two vases of each kind, are the neck amphora, different kinds of cups, e.g. kyathoi, the half-cylindrical stand, the dinos.³⁹ The amphorae vary considerably. One group is fairly

homogeneous: a squat, almost globular body with a wide mouth. It is not dissimilar from the neck amphora in Tarquinia. The panels are generally higher than on the rest of the amphorae and often lacking ornamental decoration.⁴⁰ Our amphora belongs, however, to the other group of amphorae, where the divergencies are much greater. Some are tall and narrow, some wider with a narrow mouth; all have some sort of ornamental decoration over the panels. Our amphora seems to come closest to the amphora in Würzburg and the one in Berlin—or what can be seen of it in the photo; the amphora with the ram in Munich and the ones in Cambridge, Florence and Stettin are not dissimilar but do not have the bulging shape of the vase in Stockholm.⁴¹ All these vases have the same ornament of hanging lotus buds which appears on our vase.

However much the shape may vary, one characteristic all the vases seem to have in common—the extremely dull and poorly applied glaze.⁴² Discoloured spots are frequent and areas where the glaze has run, sometimes into the pictures themselves, are not unusual.

Though various influences—Corinthian, Chalcidian, Laconian—have been traced in the work of the Ivy-leaf Group, the Attic has always been recognized as the strongest one. As Piera Bocci has pointed out, the vases of the group should be placed in the aftermath of Amasis, in the mannered sphere of the Affecter and Elbows Out,⁴³ which entails a modification of Dohrn's date from roughly around the middle of the 6th century B. C. to the latter part of the third quarter. Schauenburg dates his vase in Alingas, one of the earliest in the group, to 540 circa; the vase in Würzburg has recently been dated to about 530.⁴⁴ It seems reasonable that the vase in Stockholm, which must be the work of the leading painter, would come somewhere between those two dates.

P. Bocci also realized the similarity between the vases of this group and the small friezes on Attic cups and on some Nicosthenic amphorae.⁴⁵ The small figures with ivy leaves would certainly be at home in such contexts and so would the animals with their thin, graceful legs—much more so than in the larger vase painting where such motifs are more unusual.⁴⁶ The technique of stressing the delicate and the decorative is also far more suitable for miniature painting. The tendency to enlarge small pictures without changing the conception behind them is at once clear, if we compare the Ivy-leaf vases with the nearly contemporary La Tolfa Group, characterized by a strong

sense for the truly monumental. It is sufficient to compare the boar and stag of the Stockholm vase with the stately walking, elderly pig or the majestically stalking deer of the La Tolfa Group with their large surfaces and pure lines.⁴⁷

Etruscan black-figured vases, considered from a Greek point of view to be merely bad imitations, have

long been neglected. The book of Tobias Dohrn is still useful, but much has happened during the forty years since its publication.⁴⁸ A thorough inventory of both old and new vases is becoming indispensable in order to create a new basis for a possible re-evaluation of black-figure vase painting in Etruria.

⁴⁷ Beazley, ABV, p. XI. Our vase is fairly close to L. D. Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, Boston 1922, No. 24, p. 59.

⁴⁸ Beazley, ABV, pp. 15–17; M. G. Picozzi, *Anfore attiche a protome equina*, *Studi Miscellanei* 18, 1970–71, pp. 5–64; A. Birchall, *Attic Horse-head Amphorae*, *JHS* 92, 1972, pp. 46–63; M. G. Picozzi, *Precisazioni sulla classificazione stilistica delle anfore attiche a protome equina*, *Arch Cl* 24, 1972, pp. 378–385.

⁴⁹ See, for instance, CVA, München 1, Pls. 1–7 (=Deutschland 95–101); CVA, Louvre 3, III H e, Pl. 9 (=France 146); CVA, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1, Pl. 2 (=U.S.A. 624).

⁵⁰ Beazley even thought that the horse-head amphorae might possibly be a creation of the Gorgon Painter, ABV, pp. 15–16; the Gorgon Painter is found on pp. 8–10. Further, I. Scheibler, *Olpen und Amphoren des Gorgomalers*, *Jdl* 76, 1961, pp. 1–47.

⁵¹ The Ivy-leaf Group was treated at length by T. Dohrn, *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen aus der zweiten Hälfte des sechsten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1937, (hereinafter abbreviated to Dohrn), pp. 7–23 and 143–144, with some further remarks in *StEtr* 12, 1938, p. 284. The group was mentioned only briefly by J. D. Beazley in his *Etruscan Vase-painting*, Oxford 1947, (hereinafter abbreviated to Beazley, EVP), p. 11, and subsequently by P. Bocci in *EAA* III (1960), s.v. *Foglie d'Edera*, Gruppo delle, pp. 717–718, and again in *StEtr* 29, 1961, (hereinafter abbreviated to Bocci), pp. 98–102. Important is also the article by K. Schauenburg, *Eine neue Amphora des Efeumalers*, *AA* 1963, (hereinafter abbreviated to Schauenburg), cols. 404–430.

For one not having had the opportunity to see and handle the vases, some of which are still unpublished, it is certainly safer to speak of a group, even though many of the vases could probably be attributed to the same hand, cf. Schauenburg, col. 404, n. 2.

⁵² J. Endt, *Beiträge zur jonischen Vasenmalerei*, Prag 1899, p. 62–64.

⁵³ From the start the group grew steadily, see the summing up in Dohrn (supra n. 5), p. 7; a name—the “Efeugattung”—was suggested by A. Rumpf, *PhilWoch* 54, 1934, cols. 682–683.

⁵⁴ Of the list in Dohrn, pp. 143–144, No. 27, Louvre E 723, has been doubted by Beazley, EVP, p. 11, and by Schauenburg, col. 404, n. 3; it was recently taken up by E. Simon, *Jdl* 88, 1973, p. 38, Fig. 7, n. 49; she does not, however, state her opinion. No. 29, New York, Metropolitan Museum, was considered by Beazley, *loc.cit.*, to be by the same hand as Munich 833, J. Sieveking & R. Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München. I*, Munich 1912, (hereinafter abbreviated to S & H), Pl. 32, Figs. 92–93; both vases are considered as standing apart from the group. No. 34, Berlin F 1674, Dohrn was rightly unsure about from the start, p. 10; it is illustrated in Endt (supra n. 6), Fig. 10 (not given by Dohrn). No. 34a, Tarquinia, has only an ornamental decoration of encircling bands and is thus of little interest here. No. 34b, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, is excluded by Dohrn himself in *StEtr* 12, 1938, p. 289. No. 34c, Leyden K 94/9.5, is considered Attic by Beazley, *loc. cit.* About No. 34d, Como, we know next to nothing.

⁵⁵ *London market*, kyathos, dancing women with ivy leaves, a woman on the inside of the handle, Sotheby & Co., Catalogue, London 27th November 1967, No. 150 (illustrated). Cf. Munich 954, S & H, Pl. 42, Figs. 177–178, and Naples 908, Dohrn Nos. 4 and 6 (infra n. 11), both kyathoi, but only the one in Naples with foot; for the shape, cf. also the kyathos in British Museum (infra n. 31).

London market, belly amphora, A, Dionysos flanked by silens, B, return of Hephaistos, Sotheby & Co., Catalogue, London 12th June 1967, No. 145 (A illustrated). Cf. for side A, Cambridge G 58 (infra n. 11), for side B, the amphorae in Würzburg and Zürich (infra n. 12).

Alingas, *Collection Michelson*, belly amphora, A, winged figure, B, young men and frontal horses, Schauenburg, Figs. 1–2.

Boston, *Museum of Fine Arts* 62.970, belly amphora, A=B, eyes and snakes, H. Hoffman, *BMFA* 60, 1962, pp. 124–125 (one side illustrated), and Schauenburg, Fig. 3 (the other side). Cf. infra n. 14.

Rancate, *Collection Züst*, belly amphora, A, Bellerophon, B, single combat, Schauenburg, Figs. 6–7. Cf. for Bellerophon the vase in Villa Giulia (infra n. 23) and below.

Roman market, belly amphora, A, Bellerophon, B, hippocamp, Bocci, p. 101, Pl. 30b (side B).

British Museum 1948.10.154, belly amphora, A, young man with horse, B, griffin, Bocci, Pls. 29a and 30a.

Lucerne and/or London market, belly amphora, A, sphinx, B, griffin, *Ars Antiqua* A. G., Auktion II, 14 Mai 1960 in Lucerne, No. 126, Pl. 50 (side B), and/or Sotheby & Co., Catalogue, London 9th July 1973, No. 169, Pl. 54 (side A); the height given in the two catalogues differs slightly but all other information is consistent. It is very probably the same vase.

Lucerne market, belly amphora, A, sphinx, B, pegasos, *Ars Antiqua* A. G., Lagerkatalog 3, Dezember 1967, No. 80, Pl. 11; at least through its motifs the vase is in some way related to the group, though the pegasos is certainly different from the pegasos on the Bellerophon vases. It shows, however, some slight resemblance to the horse of the British Museum vase above.

¹⁰ Dohrn Nos. 1–12 of which 1–4 and 7–10 are now lost but were once in Munich, S & H, 832, 915–18, 954 and 981–982, Pls. 32 and 42, Figs. 149–151, 177–178, 190–191; 982 also in Endt (supra n. 6), p. 58, Fig. 34. No. 12, then in Leipzig, Jdl 11, 1896, p. 178, Fig. 2, (possibly the same as Dresden T 329, Bocci, Pl. 30b). Also London market (supra n. 9). To these should be added the winged figure of the vase in Alingas (supra n. 9), even though it is not bearing an ivy leaf, cf. especially the winged figure of Munich 832 (No. 1), S & H, Pl. 32.

¹¹ Dohrn No. 14, Cambridge G 58, CVA, Cambridge 1 (1930), pp. 21–22, Fig. 2. No. 15, Würzburg L 793, E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, Munich 1932, Pl. 230, and infra n. 41. No. 16, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 568, Schauenburg, Fig. 5. No. 17, Florence, Museo Archeologico 3771, EAA III (supra n. 5), p. 717, Fig. 5. See also London market (supra n. 9). No. 33, Villa Giulia, G. Q. Giglioli, *StEtr* 20, 1948–49, pp. 245–247, Pl. 14:2, Fig. 1, belongs in this context, though the figures are clothed.

¹² Dohrn No. 15 (supra n. 11) and No. 18, Zürich, Technische Hochschule, Kupferstichkabinett, Jdl 52, 1932, p. 201, Fig. 2. See also London market (supra n. 9).

¹³ Dohrn No. 22, Berlin F 1676, Endt (supra n. 6), Fig. 42.

¹⁴ Dohrn No. 24, Leyden R. Sx. 2, J. Böhlau, *AthMitt* 25, 1900, p. 98, Fig. 34; J. Brants, *Beschrijving van de klassieke verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. II, The Hague 1930, Pl. 16:7; Schauenburg, Fig. 4, (all are of the same side). Boston (supra n. 9). No. 25, Leyden R. Sx. 3, Brants, Pl. 16:8.

¹⁵ Dohrn No. 26, Munich 835, S & H, Pl. 32, and Böhlau (supra n. 14), pp. 96–97, Figs. 32–33.

¹⁶ Dohrn No. 32, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania MS 5658 (since 1965 on loan to the Metropolitan Museum, L 65.112), H. R. W. Smith, *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* 1:3, 1932, Pls. 9–10, Figs. A–B, and D. von Bothmer, RA 1972, pp. 89–91, Fig. 13.

¹⁷ Dohrn No. 22 (supra n. 13), Endt (supra n. 6), Fig. 43.

¹⁸ Roman market (supra n. 9), Dohrn No. 23.

¹⁹ Griffins: British Museum 1948.10.154 and Lucerne and/or London market (both supra n. 9). Standing sphinxes: Dohrn No. 13, Munich (832a (now Inv. No. 7950), S & H, Figs. 90–91, and No. 31, one sphinx among other animals, (infra n. 30). Crouching sphinxes: No. 16 (supra n. 11) and Lucerne and/or London market (supra n. 9). No. 28 is an unpublished vase with standing sirens. It would be the only one, except No. 26 (supra n. 15), without rays above the foot.

²⁰ Dohrn No. 14 (supra n. 11), CVA, Pl. 15:2 (=Gr. Br. 253), and E. A. Gardner, *A Catalogue of Greek Vases in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1897, No. 58, Pl. 20.

²¹ P. Amandry, ΠΥΠΙΝΟΟΣ ΧΙΜΑΙΡΑ, RA 29–30, 1948 (*Mélanges Charles Picard*), pp. 1–11; the Ivy-leaf chimaera is on p. 2.

²² O. Terrosi Zanco, La chimera in Etruria durante i periodi orientalizzante e arcaico, *StEtr* 32, 1964, pp. 29–72. The Etruscan type (type D) is found on pp. 46–58; our chimaera is D 10.

²³ Dohrn No. 33 (supra n. 11), Giglioli, Pl. 14:1; one on the Roman market and one in Rancate (both supra n. 9).

²⁴ Terrosi Zanco (supra n. 22), pp. 53 and 64–65, considered the possibility that the vase with the chimaera and the one with Bellerophon in Villa Giulia—the two other ones being still unknown at the time—had once been a pair. The difference between the vases argues against this assumption. Instead, the existence of three different Bellerophon vases seems to indicate an interest in the figures as such.

²⁵ The same happened at an earlier stage in Greece, as is shown by M. L. Schmitt, Bellerophon and the Chimaera in Archaic Greek Art, *AJA* 70, 1966, pp. 342–343.

²⁶ Alingas (supra n. 9), conversation; Dohrn No. 17 (supra n. 11), Schauenburg, Fig. 8, and British Museum 1948.10.154 (supra n. 9), the latter a young man with a horse, the former an old one.

²⁷ See supra ns. 9 and 12. On the other side of No. 18 there are Herakles and Nessos, P. V. C. Baur, *Centaur in Ancient Art. The Archaic Period*, Berlin 1912, No. 308, Pl. 4. No. 19, whereabouts unknown, shows a centaur with a dog.

²⁸ Dohrn No. 1 (supra n. 10), S & H, Fig. 89.

²⁹ Dohrn No. 19 (supra n. 27), lion and deer on one side. No. 20, once in Stettin but now lost, panther and boar, lion and bull, J. Böhlau, *Griechische Altertümer südrussischen Fundorts aus dem Besitze des Herrn A. Vogell*, Karlsruhe, Cassel 1908, No. 58, Fig. 4 and Pl. 2:4, (different sides). No. 21, Tarquinia 632, boar, stag, P. Romanelli, *Tarquinia. La necropoli e il museo*, Roma 1954, Pl. 68, (the photos Moscioni 9086/87, elsewhere mentioned, are apparently lost).

³⁰ Dohrn No. 31, Bonn 502, Dohrn, Pl. 1.

³¹ Rancate (supra n. 9).

³² Dohrn No. 30, British Museum, W. Zschietzschmann, *AthMitt* 53, 1928, No. 89, Pl. 15; G. Camporeale, *Le scene etrusche di "protesi"*, *RömMitt* 66, 1959, pp. 34–36, Pl. 17.

³³ Supra n. 10.

³⁴ The allusion to the god of wine was recognized already by Böhlau (supra n. 14), pp. 98–99; it was also noticed by

Hoffman (*supra* n. 9), p. 125.

³⁵ Dohrn No. 21 and No. 20 (both *supra* n. 29).

³⁶ Dohrn Nos. 1 and 17 (*supra* ns. 28 and 26).

³⁷ It is found, though slightly modified, on other Etruscan vases, e.g. *RömMitt* 3, 1888, p. 176, Fig. 8, and Munich 870, S & H, Fig. 140; both vases are probably by the Kyknos Painter, Dohrn, p. 130.

³⁸ Deer frequently turn their heads to look back on a pursuer. In a few instances a deer is surprised while scratching its nose with a hind leg, e.g. on a lid by Elbows Out, *RendLinc*, Ser. VI, 1, 1925, Fig. on p. 251; it is also found, suitably enough, on the insides of cups as F 84, CVA, Louvre 8, III H e, Pl. 79:4 (=France 511), and CVA, British Museum 2, III H e, Pl. 9:1a (=Gr. Br. 67).

³⁹ Dohrn, pp. 11–15; Schauenburg, cols. 404–405; also *supra* n. 9.

⁴⁰ The vases with large eyes (*supra* ns. 14–15) and the vase on the Lucerne/London market (*supra* n. 9).

⁴¹ Dohrn Nos. 15 and 22 (*supra* ns. 11 and 13); more distant Nos. 1, 14, 17 and 20 (*supra* ns. 10, 20, 26, 29).

⁴² Dohrn, p. 10; Giglioli (*supra* n. 11), p. 245; Schauenburg, col. 405; Bocci, *EAA* III (*supra* n. 5).

⁴³ Bocci, pp. 99–101. Beazley, *ABV*, pp. 238–248 (the *Affecter*), pp. 248–252 (Elbows Out and manner of); D. von Bothmer, *Elbows Out*, *RA* 1969, pp. 3–15.

⁴⁴ Schauenburg, cols. 409–411. *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner Museums der Universität Würzburg*, ed. E. Simon, Mainz 1975, p. 268.

⁴⁵ Bocci, p. 101. C. J. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases*, Paris 1924, pp. 177–297. Note especially the disproportion between the small figures of the frieze and the large one on the handle on e.g. p. 191, found also on the two kyathoi of the Ivy-leaf group in Munich and on the London market (both *supra* n. 9).

⁴⁶ Boars, deer, dogs and young men on horseback are ubiquitous; griffins, sphinxes and chimaerae are not uncommon. Odysseus or one of his companions escaping from Polyphemos carried by a ram is a not unknown motif. See, for instance, CVA, Louvre 9, III H e, Pls. 90–91 (=France 631–632), or CVA, British Museum 2, III H e, Pl. 12:2 (=Gr. Br. 70).

⁴⁷ British Museum, Dohrn No. 43, Pl. 2; *Münzen und Medaillen A. G.*, Catalogue, 29 November 1958, Auktion 18, No. 139, Pl. 45.

⁴⁸ Some of the vases in the article have been mentioned as lost. This information has been obtained through random enquiries; thus the total number of lost vases may be even greater, which makes the publication of all hitherto unpublished vases the more important.

An Etruscan Duck-Askos

Mario Del Chiaro

Vases in the form of animals have a remarkable long history in Western (Occidental) and Eastern (Oriental) art. In ancient Greece, decorated specimens shaped as birds were produced during the Geometric period and, for Iron-Age Italy, there are equally interesting Villanovan examples. Centuries later, however, vases fashioned and decorated as ducks—*duck-askoi*—enjoy a special popularity in Etruria, as attested by a distinctive class of red-figured askoi assigned by C. Albizzati and J. D. Beazley to the “Clusium Group” of Etruscan vase-painting because the vases were believed to have originated at Chiusi—ancient Clusium.¹ The characteristic duck-askos of the group possesses a full tapering body which rests on a ring base or low foot, and a gracefully curved neck with head that displays a well-rounded eye in relief and a bill pierced by a small hole. From the duck’s back at its tail-end, there rises a vertical spout with flaring rim near which springs an arched strap-handle that joins the duck’s neck and thereby links the vertical *filling* spout with the duck-head *pouring* spout. To judge by the general form, compact size, and the small aperture to the pouring spout, such vases must have served as perfume vases for the finest of scented oils.

In addition to a richly embellished pattern of stylized wing and body feathers, the painted decoration on the duck-askoi of the Clusium Group may show a winged female figure—*Lasa*—on each side of the vase (e.g., fig. 6)² or, as on the Stockholm askos, a partial profile head—more commonly female than male.³ Only four examples are presently known to me that are without figural themes, yet retain the characteristic stylized plumage and the usual subsidiary decorative motifs.⁴ Although illustrations of Clusium Group duck-askoi may at times suggest the presence of relief-lines. I

have not detected their use on any examined at first-hand.

For ten of the thirteen Etruscan red-figured duck-askoi decorated with profile heads considered in this study, I have tentatively distinguished the individual style of four vase-painters responsible for two or more askoi. With the exception of one vase not presented here,⁵ all of the askoi are very likely the products of a single or several closely related workshops. However, in a current detailed investigation of Etruscan duck-askoi, I may find it necessary to modify some observations offered in this paper.

Painter One

The Medelhavsmuseet vase was a gift from His Majesty, King Gustaf VI Adolf, and provides a worthy example of duck-askoi decorated with profile heads attributable to the Clusium Group of Etruscan red-figured vase-painting produced during the second half of the 4th century B. C.⁶

1. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet (Figs. 1–2)

Inv.no. MM 1961:8

Max. H. 12.2 cm.; max. L. 21.5 cm.

Kunstwerke der Antikenauktion XXII, May 13, 1961 (Basel, Münzen und Medaillen), pl. 62, no. 188;

P. Mingazzini, *Catalogo dei Vasi della Collezione Augusto Castellani*, vol. II (Rome, 1971), p. 186.

This askos displays most of the painted subsidiary repertory known for duck-askoi of the Clusium Group: extensive plumage—wing and body feathers—rendered in “concentric” semi-circles or crescents placed into an overlapping pattern, and long wing feathers indicat-



1. MM 1961:8.

ed by a series of broad and narrow plumes of which those nearest the shoulder are blacked-out and usually embellished with "spines" in added-white paint, a feature, however, not visible on the Medelhavsmuseet vase.⁷ The vertical band which sets off the flight feathers from the short (crescent) shoulder feathers carries a neatly executed wave pattern with a "T" motif set horizontally near the crest of each wave. The wave motif, rendered in divers ways, is especially common for duck-askoi of the group but, at times, it may be replaced by a meander pattern. Carefully rendered blacked-out circles or dots with narrow reserved borders follow the curve of the shoulder and, like the blacked-out wing feathers, may receive added-white detailing (see fig. 3). Added-white paint is employed on duck-askoi of the Clusium Group to heighten the decorative character of the vase—on the neck, scattered points of the plumage, etc. The vertical filling spout on the Medelhavsmuseet askos is accented

with long tongues, one of innumerable patterns painted on this portion of the askos. Admittedly, I have not personally examined this vase in order to ascertain whether or not the tail end behind the vertical spout is wrongly restored. All of the Clusium Group duck-askoi thus far known to me—with profile heads, full figures, or plain—normally terminate at half the distance between the vertical spout and tip of tail than does the Stockholm askos.

The chief source for attribution to fabric or individualization of artists' hands is found in the profile heads superimposed on the wings of the duck—specifically, the partial profiles which project from the vertical decorative band within the shoulder of the wing. With the exception of duck-askoi on which a female *and* male profile is shown,⁸ the head type represented on each side of one vase is essentially the same. The alert female head on the Medelhavsmuseet askos is sharp and clear. She wears a *stephane* (high



2. MM 1961:8.

crowned diadem) which, to judge by the oval forms rendered within, may reflect a stephane studded with jewels. Traces of white paint remain along the upper edge of the stephane. Additional jewelry is depicted in the earring type with button and single tapering pendant, and a beaded necklace rendered by a series of black dots. Especially characteristic for the painterly style is the precise circular eye with central dot for its pupil and, distinctively, the clearly articulated eyelashes, below and in front of the eye. The coiffure, with its tight, regular waves along the edges—here accented by a bordering line—is treated in a manner one can justifiably regard as “Clusium hair”—a hair style frequently encountered on vases of the Clusium Group regardless of their shape.”

The strongly individual style of drawing and the

choice of details present on the Stockholm vase calls attention to two additional duck-askoi which are unquestionably by the same hand.

2. Paris, Musée du Louvre (Fig. 3)

Inv.no. H 101

The neck and head of the duck is missing, and the foot is described as “modern” by Beazley.

J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, p. 119, no. 12; *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* April, 1976, p. 111, fig. 4..

3. Florence, Museo Archeologico (Figs. 4–5)

Inv.no. 4232

Max. H. 13.3 cm.

J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, p. 119, no. 16; *Studi Etruschi* 35 (1957), p. 480, fig. 4.

Apart from unimportant variants in the subsidiary decoration—stripe at base of the foot for vase no. 3; “V” rather than “T” motif in the vertical band with wave pattern for vase no. 2; differences of dots or circles bordering the shoulders of the wings; choice of decoration on the vertical filling spout; etc.—the profile heads for all three askoi are basically the same. The head on the Paris vase (no. 2), however, is proportionately much larger than its counterparts on the Florence (no. 3) and Medelhavsmuseet askoi (no. 1). On the Paris and Florence askoi, one shoulder of the female is suggested by a swirl of drapery—a feature not found on the Stockholm vase. The button and single pendant earring appears on only one side of the Florence askos, and the stephane on nos. 2 and 3 are enhanced by white dots (jewels?)—as is the necklace for vase no. 2.

Painter Two

The duck-askoi and a sherd which, despite its infinitesimal size retains enough of the profile to disclose

3. Paris, Musée du Louvre, H 101.

“approximate” style, stand close—but not close enough—to regard all six vases as products of a single artist. Attention should be called to the strange character of the hair for the Florence vase (no. 1)—solid black with narrow reserved border at the crown of the head, and strands of hair executed in diluted glaze-paint below the diadem—which seems to be a composite of two styles known for Volaterrae red-figured vases.¹⁰

1. Florence, Museo Archeologico

Inv. no. 74690

Provenience, Todi

Max. H. 13 cm.; max. L. 24 cm.

The handle is missing.

Studi Etruschi 9 (1935), p. 288 and pl. XL1; M. Felletti-Maj in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana* 17 (1971), p. 78, no. 3; J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, p. 119, no. 13; P. Bocci, *Guida ai Vasi Etruschi* (Museo Archeologico, Florence, 1959), 19; *Catalogo. Mostra dell'Etruria Padana e della Città di Spina* (Bologna, 1960), no. 850 and pl. LVII.





4. Florence, Museo Archeologico, 4232.

2. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale

Inv.no. 446

Provenience, Tarquinii

Max. H. 10 cm.; max. L. 19 cm.

The foot is seemingly missing.

M. Felletti-Maj, *op.cit.*, p. 77f., no. 2; J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, p. 300; P. Romanelli, *Guida. Tarquinia. Le Necropoli e il Museo* (Rome, 1951), p. 137, fig. 87.

3. Pavia, Private Collection

Small sherd: 3 by 4.5 cms.

A. Stenico in *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti* (Rome, 1965), p. 301f. and pl. LXIII, 2.

feathers can be easily confused with the coiffure.

1. Florence, Museo Archeologico

Provenience, Porano (Orvieto)

Max. H. 13 cm.; max. L. 23 cm.

Notizie degli Scavi 1932, p. 96, fig. 7; M. Felletti-Maj, *op.cit.*, p. 78f., no. 4; Beazley, *op.cit.*, p. 119, no. 11.

2. Aléria, Corsica, Musée Archéologique

Inv.no 2309

Provenience, Alalia (Aléria)

J. and L. Jehasse, *La Nécropole Préromaine d'Aléria* (Paris, 1973), p. 545 and pl. 81.

Painter Three

The two following duck-askoi differ in their major decoration by reason of the *complete*, rather than partial, profile head which is superimposed on the wing feathers. In one case (no. 2), the blacked-out flight

Painter Four

Two more duck-askoi with profile heads are the work of a single painter and are given here for the sake of completion. Yet, there is something in the overall



5. Florence, Museo Archeologico, 4232.

character of the decoration—head, neck of the duck; and fluid painting of the female heads—that, together with certain details to the form of the askoi—handle springing directly *from* the vertical spout, an especially flat base with “point” to the wing directly above the base—which arouses some reservations about these vases as bonafide members of the Clusium Group.

The following duck-askoi do not seem to be the work of any single painter, yet undeniably play some role in the overall production of duck-askoi attributable to the Clusium Group. Interestingly, two of these vases show a female head at one side of the vase, a male head at the opposite side—bearded male for no. 1, satyr for no. 2.

1. Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Antikenabteilung, inv.no. F 2969
Max. H. 16 cm.; max. L. 28 cm.
M. Felletti-Maj, *op.cit.*, p. 79, no. 5; Beazley, *op.cit.*, p. 301.
2. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
Inv.no. 1966.767
Max. H. 14 cm.; max. L. 24.7 cm.
Select Exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's Gifts to the Ashmolean Museum, 1967 (London, 1963), no. 489 and pl. LXV.

1. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
Inv.no. R 448
Max. H. 159 cm.; max. L. 23,5 cm.
J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, p. 119, no. 14; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, fasc. III, IV Be, pl. 2, 1.
2. Paris, Musée du Louvre
Inv.no. H 99
The handle is missing.
J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, p. 120, no. 17.



6. Paris, Musée du Louvre, H 100.

3. Florence, Museo Archeologico

Inv.no. 4231

Max. H. 10.8 cm.

J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, p. 119, no. 15; M. Santangelo, *Musei e Monumenti Etruschi* (Novara, 1960), p. 80.

On the evidence of the potted shape and characteristic decorative scheme—crescent feathering, series of blacked-out dots or circles, etc.—it must be readily acknowledged that these duck-askoi are closely related to those decorated with Lasae.¹¹ If not actually by the same artist who painted the latter, they at least represent products of the same workshop. As to place of manufacture, *i.e.*, that Chiusi, or Volterra, are the most probable candidates for these duck-askoi—or for that matter, for other groups of Etruscan red-figure

dating to the 4th century B. C.—remains far from being determined.¹² For the specimens bearing Lasae, additional centers have been proposed,¹³ and I have already distinguished a fabric hitherto unsuspected for one askos with profile head not presented in this study.¹⁴ Furthermore, the two vases listed for Painter Four, as I have hinted, may prove to be products of yet another center in Etruria. Naturally, to resolve the problem, or problems, of manufacture, considerably further research must be accomplished. Nonetheless, placement of the Medelhavsmuseet duck-askos within the Clusium Group of Etruscan red-figure produced during the second half of the 4th century B. C. seems secure. Stylistically, the Stockholm vase represents the work of one of the better vase-painters who decorated his duck-askoi with profile heads.

¹ C. Albizzati in *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Rom* XXX (1915), p. 152 and J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 113–122.

² Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv.no. H 100. There are two in Ferrara, Museo Archeologico, see *Notizie degli Scavi* 1927, pl. XIII and *Arte Antica e Moderna* 6 (1959), pls. 75 and 76; one in Baltimore, Maryland, John Hopkins, University, see *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Robinson Collection, IV Eb, pl. XXXVIII, 2; one in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, see G. Richter, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection* (New York, 1940), fig. 137; and a recent acquisition by the Cleveland Museum of Art, Bulletin, April, 1976, pp. 108 ff., which represents my tentative study of Etruscan red-figured duck-askoi with Lasae. A relatively rare type of duck-askos with Lasae in low-relief appliqué exists which, for the present, can be said to be products of the Clusium Group: see J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, p. 119, nos. 1–4, and 8.

³ I know of only two duck-askoi on which one of the female profile heads is replaced by a bearded male (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inv.no. R 448, see *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, fasc. III, IV Be, pl. 2, 1) or a young satyr (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv.no. H 99).

⁴ Four "plain" duck-askoi are thus far known to me: one of these was listed by Beazley as, "Once Naples ..." from a sales catalogue (*op.cit.*, p. 120, no. 19) and eventually traced by him to San Simeon, California, Hearst Castle Collection (see *Festschrift Andreas Rumpf*, Köln, 1950, p. 11). Since then, I have published this askos in *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 4 (1971), pp. 120 ff. and pl. 3. A second "plain" duck-askos reveals a conspicuous aberration in shape; namely, the placement of the filling spout in front of the handle directly behind the duck's neck. About this vase, Beazley has rightly observed that it was a "somewhat different model" (*op.cit.*, p. 120, no. 8; see *Monumenti Antichi dell'Accademia dei Lincei* XXIV, 1916, opp. p. 11, fig. 3, no. 7 and line drawing, p. 17, fig. 5, no. 12). A third and fourth specimen were discovered at Aléria (ancient Alalia, Corsica): see J. and L. Jehasse, *La Nécropole Préromaine d'Aléria* (Paris, 1973), nos. 844 and 845, pl. 81.

⁵ A duck-askos in Rome, Villa Giulia Museum, Castellani Collection, inv.no. 50578 has been assigned to the Clusium Group with reservations by Beazley (*op.cit.*, p. 301; cf. M. Feletti-Maj, *op.cit.*, p. 79, no. 6, fig. 9) who observed that, "the female heads on it are not recognizably of Clusium style." To judge by the character of its shape and decoration, I am convinced that it is not attributable to the Clusium—or Volaterrae-Group, and must represent a local imitation for an entirely different Etruscan red-figured fabric. The exceptionally high foot, a ridge which sets off the tail feathers, the scale-like pattern of body feathers at the breast and, more significantly, the profile type with its distinctive head cover (full-sakkos) are all features wholly unlike those found on duck-askoi of the Clusium Group. The Castellani duck-askos has been published by P. Mingazzini together with other vases

of the collection (*Catalogo dei Vasi della Collezione Augusto Castellani*, vol. II (Rome, 1971), no. 747 and pls. CXCVII and CC), and where he suggests affinities with female profiles on vases of The Torcop Group (p. 187). If Mingazzini is correct, then the Castellani duck-askos must be Caeretan—i.e., produced at Caere, present-day Cerveteri—on the basis of my studies into that particular Etruscan red-figured fabric: see M. Del Chiaro, "Etruscan Oinochoai of the Torcop Group," *Studi Etruschi* 28 (1960), pp. 137 ff. and M. Del Chiaro, *Etruscan Red-Figured Vase-Painting at Caere* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 68 ff.

⁶ I wish to thank Dr. C.-G. Styrenius for his kind permission to study the Stockholm vase and for the privilege to publish it in the Bulletin of the Medelhavsmuseet. I am also grateful to Ms. M. Lindström for the excellent photographs and data incorporated in this paper.

⁷ Whenever the blacked-out feathers appear "solid", it is often due to the fugitive nature of the added-white paint used for the "spine" or other decorative details of the feathers. A close examination of the vase, however, may sometimes reveal traces of the original added-white paint.

⁸ *Supra*, note 3.

⁹ For a sampling, see J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, pls. XXVII–XXVIII.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, compare fig. 6 with figs. 7–10 on pl. XXIX.

¹¹ *Supra*, note 2.

¹² See J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, Chapter V, pp. 113–122 and C. Albizzati, *loc.cit.* Not all vases attributed to the "Clusium Group" are accepted as products of ancient Chiusi. Although Beazley believed the "Clusium Group" to have been established at Chiusi, he nevertheless acknowledges the possibility of Volterra as a center since he admits the difficulty at drawing a line between vases of the "Clusium" and "Volaterrae" Groups (see J. D. Beazley, *op.cit.*, Chapter VI, pp. 123–132). On the other hand, Enrico Fiumi of the Museo Etrusco Guarnacci at Volterra has argued strongly for attribution of the Clusium Group to Volterra: "Intorno alle ceramiche del IV Sec. a. C. di fabbrica erroneamente chiamata Chiusini," *Studi Etruschi* XXVI (1958), pp. 234 ff. See also A. D. Trendall, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano - Vasi italoti ed etruschi a figure rosse* (Vatican, 1953), p. 233; G. Maetzke, "Tazze di fabbrica chiusina nel Museo di Cortona," *Studi Etruschi* 21 (1950–51), pp. 379 ff.; A. Wotschitzky, "Zwei etruskische Vasen in Innsbruck," *Studi Etruschi* 26 (1958), pp. 229 ff.; A. Stenico, "Nuove Pitture Vascolari del Gruppo Clusium," *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti* (Rome, 1965), pp. 293 ff.; and M. Pasquinucci, *Le Kelebai Volterrane* (Florence, 1968).

¹³ Felletti-Maj prefers "Volsinii Veteres" on the evidence of known proveniences (see *op.cit.*, p. 83), as did G. Becatti in *Studi Etruschi* 9 (1935), p. 288, G. Gualandini, however, favors Volterra (in *Arte Antica e Moderna* 6, 1959, p. 162 f.).

¹⁴ *Supra*, note 5.

A Flavian Portrait Reconsidered

Eva Rystedt

This note takes the form of a report on recent German research on Flavian imperial iconography. The connexion with the Medelhavsmuseet is constituted by a female portrait head (MM 1959:1, Figs. 1 and 3) acquired by the Museum in 1959 and published two years later by the former director, the late Prof. Vessberg.¹

The coiffure and the diadem together show that this attractive lady was a member of the Flavian imperial court. She may be either Domitia, who was the legitimate wife of Domitian, or Julia, who was his niece and likewise his mistress. Domitia lived until old age, surviving Domitian by many years. Julia, less fortunate, died young, allegedly from an abortion which she was compelled to have by Domitian.²

Since there are no inscribed portraits in the round of either woman, the identification has to begin with coins and attempt to establish a correlation between the two media. Such a procedure is always a complicated one and markedly so in the case of the Domitia-Julia iconography, which has not yet been wholly elucidated.

Still, a decisive step was taken after Vessberg wrote his article. In a monograph on Flavian imperial portraiture which appeared in 1966,³ Ulrich Hausmann showed that actual physiognomic changes account to a considerable degree for the variations observable in the coin portraits of both Julia and Domitia.⁴ This recognition opened the way for Hausmann to make a fresh evaluation of uninscribed portraits in the round, which he tried to collate with the single phases represented by one or more coin issues.⁵ The result is a sculptural picture as diversified as the glyptic one, physiognomy, typology and style being the variables. With uninscribed female heads wearing a Flavian coiffure and a diadem the choice is now less the

basically dual one that it was earlier but rather one between several, progressively more pin-pointed Julias and Domitias, whose physiognomic constants concurrently appear more clearly.

As for the head in the Medelhavsmuseet Vessberg opted for Domitia, on the basis of its alleged similarity to cointypes and "tolerably certain" portraits in the round of Domitia. He also worked along the negative line saying that the head could not possibly represent the same person as a head in the Museo Nazionale in Rome often identified as Julia.⁶

Hausmann, on the other hand, classified the Stockholm head among his Julias giving it a middle place in a markedly varied iconographic series, in which the Rome head was fitted in at the beginning. A late stage is best represented in marble sculpture by a beautiful head in a private Swiss collection.⁷ In the ten years covered by her portraits Julia's face changes from girlish to womanly, although the physiognomic stage and the chronological place of the single portrait do not necessarily concur.

The anonymous Domitias were similarly tracked down and ranked in chronological order by Hausmann along with a scrutiny of the cointypes.⁸ Being older when her portraits start to be made, she enters the official stage less youthful than Julia and leaves it a middle-aged woman with hardened features.

In time Hausmann's net has become finer, as appears from a recent article in the *Römische Mitteilungen*.⁹ More disputed portraits in the round acquire the status of what Vessberg called "tolerably certain" ones, partly in connexion with discoveries of fresh specimens. The former category is now made to include a portrait from Alexandria as probably, after all, representing Domitia (Figs. 2 and 4), the main earlier difficulty, its provenience from a private necro-



1. MM 1959:1.



2. Alexandria, 3516, (after RömMitt 82).

polis, being swept aside by the evidence of the tomb of the Licinii in Rome, which probably included one or two portraits of imperial personages. Hausmann adduces in passing the Stockholm head (still identified as Julia) as a pendant in time to the Alexandrian one.¹⁰

If rightly identified and dated¹¹ these two heads provide two well-preserved, approximately contemporary portraits of the first ladies of the Flavian court, whose relations could have been nothing but strained. Julia at the time was a little over twenty, Domitia some ten years older. There is one reservation: the Julia portrait is taken by Hausmann to reflect a still earlier physiognomic state, i.e. a Julia still in her teens.¹² In any case, her face is quite youthful,¹³ without any indications of the slight creases visible between nose and cheeks and below the eyes in the portrait of the older woman. In the frontal view the shapes of the two faces are rather different. The single most distinguishing feature in each is the aquiline nose, which has long been known from coins showing Domitia, and the

large, slightly bulging, shallow-set eyes, recently emphasized by Hausmann as a physiognomic characteristic of Julia.¹⁴

If Vessberg had lived to see this pair together, he would probably have found the new Domitia more doubtful than the re-named Julia. He was markedly, perhaps excessively, wary of letting female heads without a diadem like the former pass as imperial portraits on the basis of a physiognomic similarity to the cointypes.¹⁵ The Stockholm portrait is undeniably more firmly anchored in Hausmann's construction.

Which of two possible court ladies is represented by a certain marble head may seem to the non-specialist a moot point. The research of Hausmann and others presents the perspective. By a correlated study, in which the coins are the vital link, of the portraits and of the written sources relative to the single imperial personage, we may get an insight into the factors bearing on the issue and the form of the official imperial portraits.



3. MM 1959:1.



4. Alexandria, 3516. (after RömMitt 82).

¹ O. Vessberg, Recent acquisitions of Roman portraits, *Medelhavsmuseet Bull.* 1 (1961) 55 ff.

² On Domitia Longina, see RE V 1513–1516 No. 103 and PIR III² 57 No. 181 (both by A. Stein). On Julia Titi, RE Suppl. VI 133–137 (by M. Fluss) and PIR III² 189 No. 426 (by A. Stein).

³ G. Daltrop, U. Hausmann & M. Wegner, *Die Flavii (Das römische Herrscherbild, II. Abteilung, Band 1)*, Berlin 1966 (hereafter cited as *Die Flavii*).

⁴ Ibid. 49 ff and 63 ff.

⁵ Hausmann's attributions to Julia or Domitia of portraits in the round won general favour with an authority like H. von Heintze, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 373. V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains*, II, Copenhagen 1974, 46, implicitly accepts the identification of the Stockholm portrait as Julia.

⁶ Vessberg (supra n. 1) 59–60. Rome head: Museo Nazionale delle Terme 8638.

⁷ Stockholm head: *Die Flavii* 55–56 and 116, pls. 43 and 46c.

Rome head: *ibid.* 54–55 and 118, pl. 42. Solothurn head: *ibid.* 57–58 and 119, pls. 44 and 46d.

⁸ Ibid. 63–71 and 122–125, pls. 53–59.

⁹ U. Hausmann, *Zu den Bildnissen der Domitia Longina und der Julia Titi*, *RömMitt* 82 (1975) 315 ff.

¹⁰ Alexandria head: Musée Gréco-Romain 3516. Hausmann (supra n. 9) 319–320, with references, and pls. 106–108.

¹¹ The middle eighties: Hausmann (supra n. 9) 320.

¹² *Die Flavii* 55–56.

¹³ On this point Vessberg (supra n. 1, 60) was of another opinion.

¹⁴ On Domitia's nose. see J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie* II, 2, Stuttgart, Berlin & Leipzig 1891, 63. On Julia's eyes, see esp. Hausmann (supra n. 9) 324. The facts that the nose is frequently missing and the eyes sometimes less distinct obscure the case.

¹⁵ Vessberg (supra n. 1) 59 and 60.

A Mediaeval Bull Vessel from Iran

Karin Ådahl

Among the wealth of Chinese art objects in the collection of the late King Gustaf Adolf, there was a smaller group of objects from other cultures, ranging in date from prehistoric to more recent times. Many had been acquired by the late King himself but some were gifts from foreign visitors or had been given to the King on some of his many visits abroad.

It is a general characteristic of these objects that they are either of high quality or have a special interest due to some outstanding feature.

The few objects from the Islamic world belong rather to the former group. They are now being incorporated in the collections of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities and form a valuable complement to the general collection of art from the Near East.

One of the most attractive Islamic objects in the royal collection was a small vessel in the shape of a bull made of clay, moulded and glazed. In accordance with the King's will it is now in the collection of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (MM 1974:32).¹

The small sculpture was listed in an inventory made in 1953 but was most probably given to the King as early as 1936 in connection with a visit to Iran. It belongs to a group of similar objects which have hitherto not been subjected to any penetrating or complete examination, and comparative material is scarce.

The bull is 18.1 cm high and 16.7 cm long and measures 7.2 cm across the abdomen. The base on which it is standing is 9.8 cm in length and 6.0 cm in width.

The heavy cylindrical body, the head and the tube-shaped legs are hollow, moulded in two halves, the joint can be clearly felt lengthwise along the centre of

the figurine. The four legs are fixed onto a flat, rectangular base. The head is crowned by two horns pointing inwards to form two vertical, juxtaposed circles, between the horns is a small, conical point, the meaning of which is still obscure. The muzzle has a cylindrical opening, corresponding to another opening in the back of the bull. A thin handle rises from the funnel-shaped rim of this opening to the back of the neck. This handle has a small, button-shaped ornament, probably a reminiscence of a thumb-grip, a detail to be found on many objects from this period but no longer serving any real purpose. The head and the body have been given a certain sculptural quality through the modelling of the eyes, muscles and tail, probably outlined already in the mould.

The paste consists of a clay with an admixture that is difficult to identify. The firing temperature may be estimated as being 1000–1200°C.²

The turquoise glaze, which covers the whole body and the top of the base, derives its pigment from copper oxide. The reliefmoulded features of the face are emphasised by a dark-blue, painted decoration, also visible on the horns, leg and tail and giving to the body an unusual, checked pattern. The dark blue consists mainly of manganese. The turquoise glaze and the painted decoration are covered by a final, transparent glaze with a faint blue-green tint. This glaze has a network of crackles and, when examined under a microscope, reveals craters of burst bubbles all over the piece. It is in a state of serious deterioration, the different components of the glaze not being in balance. The result of this is that parts of the bull are entirely covered by an iridescence, the surface layer of which flakes off when touched.

The aesthetic value of the little sculpture is, however, enhanced by the fact that it is complete and has

not suffered any damage, apart from the abovementioned iridescence of the glaze, which, at least from an aesthetic point of view, does not diminish the beauty of the object.

The group of animal figurines to which the bull belongs all have their origin in Iran, most of them probably having been found in the north-east. It is, however, in most cases not possible to fix on a place of origin, since very few of these objects have been found in controlled excavations. The glaze and the decoration show a connection with Gurgan and Rayy, for example, and in the case of the bull most likely with Kashan. It is generally agreed that most of the figurines belong to the first and second decades of the 13th century.

The technique of moulding would permit the making of several identical copies. There are, however, still no two identical figurines and only very few with any close resemblance.³

Sculpture in the round is very rare in the realm of Islamic art. The few examples found from Spain to India have an essentially different character from sculpture in Europe or eastern Asia. It is sculpture in the round but with a formal stiffness, as if the figures were created from a geometrical form, the cube or the cylinder. It gives altogether rather an ornamental impression and never shows any intention of depicting a movement or of creating a space by action.

This is most likely a circumstance related to the well-known and generally misinterpreted prohibition in the traditional sayings of Muhammed, the hadith, of the representation of living beings. There it is said that those who dare to create images of living beings will be deemed, on the Day of Judgement, to give life to these images. This, being beyond the capacity of man, will lead to dreadful punishment. The Koran, however, gives no support to this tradition. There is only a passage in the sura of the Table saying, through Muhammed, in the words of Allah, that "... wine and arrow-shuffling, idols and divining-arrows are an abomination, some of Satan's work; so avoid it."⁴

The hadith and the saying of the Koran together created a certain reluctance, especially during the first few centuries after the Hijra and in the most orthodox Islamic countries, to create images of living beings. But there *are* pictures of men, women and animals all through the centuries in most of the Islamic world from the very beginning of Islam.

The clay-figurines, which form a characteristic group among the ceramics of the Islamic culture, all

have their origin in Iran.⁵ This is significant, since Iran, which had a strong artistic tradition of its own, continued this tradition after adopting the new religion and developed the art of miniature-painting, carpet-weaving and metalwork, decorating the objects freely with scenes from the romantic and heroic tales of the literary tradition. But also in Iran there seems to have been a reluctance against forming images in the round, which make the figurines an outstanding exception.

Most of these figurines, as mentioned above, were created during the early 13th century and represent seated women, harpies, lions, camels, birds and bulls, the bull being the most frequent. They are all moulded and glazed with a brown lustre glaze on a white ground, with lustre glaze on a cobalt blue or with a monochrome turquoise, in some cases with a painted decoration in black or dark blue. These glazes are characteristic of the 12th and 13th centuries and occur frequently on wares from Kashan, Rayy, Sawa and Gurgan, cities situated in the north and northeast of Iran. When the first figurines appeared on the market at the beginning of this century, their origin was obscure, though, as mentioned above, their resemblance, as regarding glaze and decoration, to the wares from the abovementioned cities led to the assumption that they had their origin in this area. The excavations in Gurgan in the 1940's brought to light a number of additional figurines, giving support to the anticipated theory of origin.⁶

Like most objects from the Islamic culture, the figurines seem to have served a practical function as bath-rubbers, vases or aqua-maniles. In the case of the bull the practical purpose seems obvious. The liquid can be poured in through the opening in the back and poured out again through the spout in the muzzle. Due to the age of the object, this has, however, not been tried. But not all objects function as well as the bull. Some have but one opening, some have handles, that do not balance and a few of the figurines have neither handles nor openings. The explanation of this is probably quite simple. According to Grube, these figurines were mainly valuable as objects of art and their purpose was mainly decorative, though in some cases it was combined with a practical purpose, however of a luxurious nature, for example to be set in the middle of a banqueting table. "The strong sculptural quality of many of these objects made them ideally suited for display and ceremonial functions ... Others may have served as amulets or objects providing protection of various kinds; still others may have



been commemorative gifts.’’⁷

The aspect of protection or serving as an amulet has a certain relevance in the case of the bull.

It is an old tradition in the Iranian mythology that the bull pulled the moon chart across the sky. It was also a symbol of good or bad omen and, according to Al Biruni, ‘‘It is an ox of light, with two golden horns and silver feet, which is visible for an hour and then disappears. The wish of him who looks at the ox when he is visible will be fulfilled in the same hour. In the same night there appears on the highest mountain, as they maintain, the sceptre of a white ox, that bellows twice if the year is to be fertile, and once (if the year is to be barren).’’⁸

¹ Exhibited in 1973 in the National Museum, Stockholm, in the exhibition entitled ‘‘Persisk konst i Sverige’’ (cat.nr. 120).

² Dr. Hans-Åke Nordström, of the Technical Department at the Museum of National Antiquities has been kind enough to examine the clay and the glazes. I owe him my thanks for the technical data.

³ See E. J. Grube, *Islamic Sculpture, Ceramic Figurines* in *Oriental Art*, NS XII, 1966, pp 165 ff, and *Islamic Pottery 800–1400 AD*, Victoria and Albert Museum 1969 (exhibition catalogue).

⁴ Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, London 1964,

Can it be that the Persians, in spite of the sayings of Muhammed, not only produced with great artistry images of living beings but even made use of them as amulets, an aspect coming very close to idolatry? There is still no definite answer to this question, but part of the answer may be that in pre-Islamic Iran, both during prehistoric times and under the Achaemenides and the Parthians, animal-shaped vessels were a common object of art, serving a ritual purpose as vessels for libation. Was this tradition still alive to the Persians in the 13th century, in spite of the gap of several hundred years or is an influence to be sought outside the borders of Iran? Maybe in Tang China, as suggested by Rogers?⁹

V:90.

⁵ The few exceptions have no relevance to the subject of this article and cannot be discussed in this context.

⁶ M. Bahrani, *Gurgan Faïences*, Cairo 1949.

⁷ E. J. Grube, *Islamic Pottery of the Eight to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection*, London 1976, pp. 239 ff.

⁸ Al Biruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, translated by E. Sachau, London 1879, pp. 212–13.

⁹ J. M. Rogers, *On a figurine in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art, Persica* No. IV, 1969, pp. 141–179.

Un faux d'antiquaire d'inspiration sud-arabe

Jacqueline Pirenne

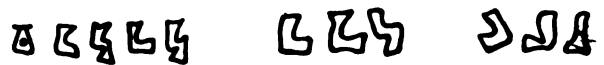
Lorsque, sur le conseil du Professeur Ingholt, le Medelhavsmuseet m'envoya la présente photographie de cette pièce, je dus répondre que c'était un faux. Mais il n'est pas sans intérêt.

Il s'agit d'une sculpture en albâtre, d'environ 25 cm de haut. Elle fait partie de la belle collection offerte à la Fondation Nobel par le physicien Georg von Békésy, prix Nobel.

Elle figure deux têtes accolées qui veulent, sans doute, représenter un couple, car celle de gauche porte collier et pendentif, sous un menton effilé, alors que l'autre a un cou puissant, dénué de menton, un visage plus large, et doit être un homme. Les cheveux bouclés sont schématisés par de petites lignes parallèles, en relief. L'arcade sourcilière et le nez sont traités comme sur les sculptures sud-arabes; les yeux aussi, mais ils sont trop bas et affreusement saillants. Les bouches ne sont que des fentes.

Ce groupe est encadré de deux éléments qui se superposent. Une sorte de croissant, fait d'une torsade, sert de fond à deux bras levés symétriquement, sortant d'un motif en forme de peigne. Les mains informes, aux doigts longs, paraissent tournées paumes en arrière.

L'ensemble est comme posé sur une sorte de panier, dont le rebord est orné d'une dizaine de vermicelles, en relief sur champlevé. En fait, ils ne sont pas identiques et semblent destinés à représenter de l'écriture. Elle court de gauche à droite (contrairement au sémitique, en général) ce qui est étrange. Les signes rappellent le pehlevi (en sens inverse), mais le style des signes, évasés vers le bas (les 2°, 4°, 5° et 6°), rappellent les légendes des monnaies aksumites d'Éthiopie, dont on verra ici les lettres les plus ressemblantes¹. Elles peuvent quelquefois se trouver tournées vers la droite.



D'autre part, au creux du croissant formé par les bras levés, deux lignes en croix et deux verticales peuvent être interprétées comme un T sud-arabe suivi de deux barres, mais un tel groupe de signes n'offre aucun sens.

Le faux déjà manifeste à cause de ses écritures dénuées de style et de sens, l'est encore plus si l'on y reconnaît le document original qui a dû servir d'inspiration au faussaire.

C'est la stèle à la déesse, dont on verra ici un exemple, pris parmi tous les exemplaires de ce type que nous avons publiés ensemble.²

En effet les deux traits les plus étranges de ce faux: les bras levés et la torsade encadrant le groupe, sont caractéristiques de la déesse sud-arabe, représentée avec un geste de bénédiction (la main droite levée, mais paume en avant), et le buste encadré par une torsade qui doit être (ainsi que j'ai essayé de le montrer) le rebord du bât de procession sur lequel les anciens Arabes promenaient leurs dieux. Une petite terre cuite publiée par Fr. Cumont³ montre deux déesses Fortune portées sur un chameau, et une autre représente deux musiciennes, accompagnant la procession, et également portées par un chameau. Dans les deux cas, le bât est une sorte de panier, dont le rebord limite les bustes des musiciennes ou des déesses, de la même façon que sur les représentations de la déesse bénissante sud-arabe. C'est ce rebord torsadé que notre faussaire a copié, mais encadrant ses figures jusqu'aux oreilles et pas seulement sous les coudes.

D'autre part, il a repris le bras bénissant, mais sans en comprendre le sens, c'est pourquoi il a figuré les



Sculpture de la collection G. von Békésy.



Stèle de la déesse.

paumes vers l'arrière et a fait lever le bras gauche à son personnage de droite.

Enfin, il a représenté un couple. Il n'est pas exclu que, dans son esprit, cela ait pu être un couple divin, car des reliefs syriens offrent des couples Hadad-Atargatis, par exemple. Ou bien a-t-il méconnu le caractère divin de son modèle et jugé plus intéressant de représenter un homme et une femme?

Le mélange des écritures, le fait qu'on a dirigé celle du rebord de gauche à droite (au contraire du sens



Terre cuite avec deux déesses.

sémitique), la représentation d'un couple divin (alors que celui-ci n'est pas attesté jusqu'ici dans l'art sud-arabe), tous ces traits pourraient faire penser que l'auteur de cette création fantaisiste n'est pas un Sud-Arabe, mais plutôt un citadin qui avait connaissance à la fois du type de la stèle à la déesse sud-arabe et de documents syriens; peut-être aussi de monnaies aksumites.

Ce serait plutôt un faux d'antiquaire qu'un faux sud-arabe.

¹ De gauche à droite: d'après une monnaie d'argent de Wazeb, le troisième étant d'une monnaie de Kaleb, comme le groupe des trois signes suivants. Le dernier groupe est d'après une monnaie de Wazeb, en or.

² J. Pirenne, *Stèles à la déesse Dhât Himyam (Hamim)*, et

Stèles à la déesse du Musée d'Aden, dans *Syria* XXXVII, 1960, p. 326-347 et XXXIX, 1962, p. 257-262 et planches.

³ Fr. Cumont, *La double Fortune des Sémites et les processions à dos de chameau*, dans ses *Études Syriennes*, Paris, 1917, p. 263 et suiv.

Activities 1976–1977

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

During the period July 1st 1976–June 30th 1977 important steps forward were taken in the efforts to obtain new localities for the Medelhavsmuseet, the first of which on December 2nd when the government decided to instruct the National Board of Public Building to start drawing up plans for a new museum according to earlier propositions (see Bull. 9, 1974, p. 74). On February 15th the Board had chosen Mr Nils Arne Rosén to act as architect of the new museum and he immediately started his preparatory work, which will take at least one year to reach completion.

Among more important additions to the Egyptian Department a limestone sculpture of a crocodile half a metre long may be mentioned. The crocodile represents the god Sobek and an inscription tells us that a man named Panefer had ordered the making of the sculpture. Panefer was the supervisor of cattle belonging to the mortuary temple of Ramesses II at Thebes and thus the crocodile may be dated back to c. 1200 B.C. or the 12th century. Also important is the acquisition of a tomb stele from c. 2000 B.C. with the original polychrome painting preserved.

The Graeco-Roman Department has received or acquired some important objects. Among Greek acquisitions one can mention a large Early Cycladic marble vase and an Attic Geometric grave amphora from the 8th cent. B.C. The amphora, which has a height of 73 cm has representations in three friezes of soldiers, chariots and animals. It was earlier in the Louisiana Museum near Copenhagen (Louisiana 1958, p. 12, fig. 2, Copenhagen 1958).

Among Roman acquisitions a tomb sculpture representing a woman from the Roman Imperial era, related to the well-known Palmyra-group, and a Roman mosaic should be mentioned. The mosaic has a

representation of the head of the god Silvanus. It is probably from Syria and can be dated back to the 4th cent. A.D.

Among Near Eastern antiquities eleven tablets with cuneiform inscriptions have been added to the collections. Eight of these are from the 3rd dynasty of Ur.

The exhibition activity continued as before and the Museum had its greatest success up to now with the international travelling exhibition "After the Flood – Ur, Babylon, Nineveh", which was shown from February 10th to May 1st 1977. All the objects came from the Iraq Museum in Baghdad. Especially instructive were the Sumerian and the Parthian parts of the exhibition. The Medelhavsmuseet is together with the Museum of National Antiquities responsible for the circulation of this exhibition. It will be shown in Norway (Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, May 14th–July 31st 1977), Finland (Amos Andersons Konstmuseum, Helsinki, August 18th–November 13th 1977), Switzerland (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, December 15th 1977–February 12th 1978), Denmark (Louisiana Museum, Copenhagen/Humlebaek, March 4th–May 28th 1978) and West Germany (Römer-Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, June 23rd–September 24th 1978).

The Medelhavsmuseet also showed the exhibition "Ancient Egyptian Temple Architecture" in collaboration with the Sveriges Arkitekturmuseum in Stockholm during the period November 17th 1976–January 31st 1977. The exhibition was organized by the Egyptological Society of Finland, by the Finlands Arkitekturmuseum and by the photographer Simo Rista. It consisted of photographs from Egypt and objects from the Egyptian Department of the Medelhavsmuseet. The exhibition was shown in the rooms of the Sveriges Arkitekturmuseum and was lively

Contents

A Votive Inscription from the Reign of Iddin-Dagān
Alfred Haldar 3

Two Examples of Egyptian Blue-painted Pottery in the
Medelhavsmuseet
Colin Hope 7

Gesicht und Kunststil. Ein Repertorium der ägypti-
schen Kunstentwicklung anhand von Grabfiguren
Bengt Peterson 12

Eine löwenköpfige Nilferdgöttin in Stockholm
Beate George 38

Ein Mumienporträt im Medelhavsmuseet
Beate George 45

A Minoan Vase in Stockholm
Peter Warren 48

An Etruscan Black-figured Amphora of the Ivy-leaf
Group
Charlotte Scheffer 53

An Etruscan Duck-Askos
Mario del Chiaro 62

A Flavian Portrait Reconsidered
Eva Rystedt 70

A Mediaeval Bull Vessel from Iran
Karin Ådahl 73

Un faux d'antiquaire d'inspiration sud-arabe
Jacqueline Pirenne 77

Activities 1976–1977
Carl-Gustaf Styrenius 80

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MEDELHAVSMUSEET

The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities

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